

CALVIN BY THE BOOK

A Literary Commemoration of the
500th Anniversary of the Birth of John Calvin



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CALVIN BY THE BOOK



IOANNES CALVINUS NATUS NOVIODUNI PICARDORUM
x Julij A. 1509 et denatus Genevæ xxvii May A. 1564 ibidemque sepultus.

*Calvium assidue comitatu modestia virum,
Sic rutila manibus fraxerat ipsa suis
Ipsa à quo potuit virtutum dicere virtus:
Roma tuus terror maximus ille fuit.*

*Siet hier een helder Licht een hoogh begaafte Geest,
Vol wetenschap en deucht; de eer niet Genevæ.
Wiens pluggen een schrick voor Rome is geweest,
En haer verheven Stoel deed waggelen en Beven.
Dewyl hy in zyn tyd daer mee te wege bracht,
Meer dan de grootste Vorst met al zyn oorlogs might.*

Iohannes Calvinus is geboren tot Noyon in Picardyen den 10 Iulij 1509 en is inden Heere ontslapen tot Geneven den 27 May 1564. en aldaer begraven.

CALVIN BY THE BOOK

A Literary Commemoration of the
500th Anniversary of the Birth of John Calvin

On the Occasion of the
'Rediscovering Calvin' Conference
held at the University of Toronto, 18-20 June 2009

Exhibition and Catalogue by Pearce J. Carefoote

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FOREWORD

Perusing the text of this catalogue, I was struck afresh with recognition of the importance of the written word – in communication generally and in the communication of spiritual insight and conviction in particular.

One seeks to understand how Calvin came to have so shaping an influence in cultures as diverse as those of France and Hungary, of the Netherlands and Scotland, and how his ministry and teaching spread as a thoroughly international movement. Part of the answer, of course, is that when those who found religious refuge in Geneva were able to go home, they took Calvin's theology with them. From the very instructive notes of this catalogue, though, one sees that another part of the answer is the impact implied in the prodigious output of Calvin's printed texts. That his writings comprise 42% of all printed sheets between the years 1541 and 1565 is a stunning statistic.

In our own electronic age, the Internet may be proving itself to be a vehicle comparable in revolutionary impact to the printing press in the age of reform. But will its primary impact be in service of humanity's spiritual life or something else? Meanwhile, the spiritual influence of the books exhibited in 'Calvin by the Book' is indisputable.

The Rev. Prof. Peter Wyatt,
Chair, Steering Committee,
'Rediscovering Calvin'



R. Houten Pinet

Johannes Calvinus.

Natus 10 Jul. A° 1509 Denatus 27. May A° 1564.

Printed for H. Parker & E. Bohnell in Cornhill London.

Portrait from Richard Rolt, *Lives of the Principal Reformers*, London, 1759.

P R E F A C E

The year 2009 seems to be one of significant anniversaries, many of which could have provided the stimulus for exhibitions of books and manuscripts from the collections of the Fisher Library. There is Johnson (1709), Burns (1759), Housman (1859) and even Galileo (1609 for the telescope). We would find it a bit more difficult to cope with Lincoln or Poe (both 1809). Darwin provides the occasion for a double celebration (1809 and 1859) which will be observed in the autumn. John Calvin, who was born in 1509, although perhaps less obvious to the consciousness of the general public, is the only one (apart from Darwin) to have had his name established as an historical movement which has profoundly affected the lives of millions of people around the globe. Calvinism is recognized as a basic Protestant religious concept even by many who know little or nothing of the man himself. Curiously, he is often identified in the English-speaking world with Scotland even though he was French, lived and worked in Switzerland, and never visited Scotland at all. He had John Knox to thank for his influence there, as P.J. Carefoote's catalogue makes clear, and the number of books from the collection of rare books from Knox College, University of Toronto (now in the Fisher Library) in this exhibition demonstrates his pervasive influence on the development of the Presbyterian faith. Calvin himself provided the literary basis for his influence with his astonishing output of books, written and edited over what we would now regard as a relatively short career. It has often been said that without the printing press the Protestant Reformation would have been confined to downtown Wittenberg. Calvin was eight years old when that momentous event occurred and the press was to be his most potent ally. He was, as P.J. Carefoote says, 'a man of the book', and as such we celebrate his career and his influence.

Richard Landon,
Director,
Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library

Timeline for the life of John Calvin

- 1509 Jean Cauvin is born in Noyon, France on 10 July.
- 1523 Calvin moves to Paris to study at the Collège Montaigu, University of Paris.
- 1528 Calvin takes up legal studies at Orléans.
- 1532 Calvin is granted his Licentiate in Law and publishes his first book, a commentary on Seneca's *De clementia*.
- 1534 Calvin leaves France.
- 1535 Calvin settles at Basel.
- 1536 Calvin publishes the first edition of the *Institutes of the Christian Religion*; he travels to Ferrara and Paris. He settles in Geneva.

Timeline European Events

- 1509 Henry VIII ascends to the throne of England.
- 1516 Erasmus publishes his translation of the New Testament known as the *Novum Instrumentum*.
- 1517 Martin Luther affixes the Ninety-Five Theses to the doors of Wittenberg Castle Church.
- 1521 Edict of Worms condemns Martin Luther.
- 1522 Luther's translation of the New Testament into German appears.
- 1523 Clement VII succeeds Adrian VI as Pope.
- 1528 St George's Chapel, Windsor is completed.
- 1532 Sir Thomas More resigns as Chancellor of England; Machiavelli's *The Prince* is first published.
- 1534 The Affair des Placards in Paris leads to violent backlash against Protestants; the English Parliament passes the first Act of Supremacy; Jacques Cartier makes his first voyage to the New World.
- 1535 William Tyndale is arrested in Antwerp; the first complete English Bible is published; Bishop John Fisher and Sir Thomas More are executed.
- 1536 The General Assembly of Geneva abolishes the Mass and all other papal ceremonies; William Tyndale is executed near Brussels.

John Calvin

- 1538 Calvin is expelled from Geneva and moves to Strasbourg.
- 1539 Exchange of letters between Calvin and Cardinal Sadolet.
- 1541 Calvin is invited to return to Geneva.
- 1542 The Parlement of Paris formally bans Calvin's *Institutes*.
- 1547 Calvin helps to craft the *Ordinances For The Regulation of the Churches Dependent Upon the Seigniorship of Geneva*.
- 1551 Calvin's commentary on the book of the prophet Isaiah first appears.
- 1553 Michael Servetus is executed for heresy in Geneva.
- 1557 Calvin publishes his commentary on the Psalms.
- 1558 Calvin concludes a two-year lecture series on the Minor Prophets.
- 1559 The definitive Latin edition of the *Institutes* is published at Geneva.
- 1560 The definitive French edition of the *Institutes* is published at Geneva.

European Events

- 1538 The Truce of Nice establishes peace between Emperor Charles V and Francis I of France; Henry VIII is excommunicated by Pope Paul III.
- 1539 The English Parliament passes the Six Articles, affirming certain Catholic principles in the newly established Church of England.
- 1541 The first official translation of the Bible into Swedish appears.
- 1542 Pope Paul III establishes the Holy Office with authority over the Inquisition.
- 1547 Henry VIII dies and Edward VI ascends the throne of England; Charles V defeats the forces of the Schmalkaldic League.
- 1551 Edict of Chateaubriand passed by the Parlement of Paris; Martin Bucer dies in Cambridge.
- 1553 Edward VI dies and Mary I ascends the throne of England; Archbishop Thomas Cranmer arrested.
- 1557 The first Roman *Index librorum prohibitorum* is published.
- 1558 Mary I dies and Elizabeth I ascends the throne of England.
- 1559 John Knox returns from exile to Scotland; the Acts of Uniformity and Supremacy are passed by the English Parliament.
- 1560 The Geneva Bible is printed; Jacobus Arminius is born.

John Calvin

- 1561 First English edition of Calvin's *Institutes* appears, translated by Thomas Norton.
- 1563 Calvin's sermons on the Book of Job first published.
- 1564 Calvin dies on 27 May in Geneva.

European Events

- 1561 John Knox engages Quintin Kennedy in debate on the subject of transubstantiation in Ayrshire.
- 1563 First edition of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* appears.
- 1564 Galileo is born; Michelangelo and Vesalius die.



Frontispiece to Louis Maimbourg's *Histoire du calvinisme*, Paris, 1682.

CALVIN BY THE BOOK

Introduction

John Calvin was a man of the book in every possible sense. First, he lived his life in an uncompromising manner by *the* Book, and enjoyed an intimacy with those sacred texts that affected all of his private and public endeavours. Second, he was a humanist and scholar who, living through the birth of modernity, not only depended on the printed word to inform his ideas, but also used the opportunities presented by the invention of the printing press to disseminate his thoughts and reflections to a world that was primed for change. Third, he helped to shape the history of the book itself. He can, in no small way, be credited with popularizing the vernacular, and differentiating between genres of literature, some of which were intended for public reading and others for private, silent enjoyment.¹ His life and legacy can be told through books, as this exhibition demonstrates. Books shaped him and his age, and in the end he and his followers used the medium of print to bring about one of the greatest revolutions the world has ever known. Five hundred years have now passed since Jean Cauvin, as he was first known, was born in Noyon, France. Because he lived and wrote, Christianity has been forever changed; the political structures of the West have been permanently altered; even the economic realities by which we order our lives have been shaped by the vision that he and his disciples had of humanity's place in creation. He enjoys the ignominious distinction of being simultaneously one of the most honoured and vilified figures in human history – largely because of the mass of print he left behind for others to interpret and expand upon.

Calvin and his doctrine initially benefited from the revolution in print that swept across Europe at the beginning of the modern era. The development of the book as an educational tool and technological device combined with the emergent culture of reading to ensure that his ideas would make a deep and lasting impression on Western religious, political, and social life. As Christianity moves into its third millennium, it is not surprising that Calvin's thought – together with the challenges to it – takes its rightful place in the ether in electronic journals, online encyclopedias, chat rooms, and wikis in almost every language. While the defini-

tion of 'book' may currently be in flux, the life and legacy of John Calvin will be preserved for posterity in the ongoing publication of his words, the thrust of which has always been twofold: to be inwardly spiritual and outwardly transforming.²

- 1 Jean-François Gilmont, *John Calvin and the Printed Book* (Kirksville: Truman State University, 2005), p. 290-291.
- 2 Yung Han Kim. 'The identity of Reformed Theology and its Ecumenicity in the Twenty-First Century: Reformed Theology as Transformational Cultural Theology', *Reformed Theology: Identity and Ecumenicity*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003, p. 19.

CASES ONE & TWO

Action and Reaction: Calvin's World

In 1509, John Calvin was born into an intellectual world that was already in flux. The humanist movement which had originated in Florence at the end of the fourteenth century had progressively spread across the continent, and taken root as far away as the British Isles. Its chief mission was to rescue Christendom (which still existed as a cultural and religious reality at the beginning of the sixteenth century) from the morass of mediaeval scholasticism by returning to the sources of the faith, particularly the Scriptures in their original languages and the writings of the Church Fathers.³ Above all, it was a revolution achieved through books, both in printed and manuscript forms, and not just the Bible and tomes of dense theology, although they played their significant role. Books of logic and rhetoric, history and law, philosophy and political science all helped to contribute to the intellectual excitement that was sweeping across Europe in the wake of the invention of the printing press.

In 1523, at the age of fourteen, Calvin arrived in Paris, a city that was consumed with theological controversy. While Luther's ideas were viewed favourably by many in the French intelligentsia, the conservative theological faculty of the Sorbonne drew up lists of heretics for immediate condemnation.⁴ Those who sympathized with the reformers, or who were guilty of theological speculation themselves, were routinely questioned by university authorities, who also served as inquisitors. It is likely that in the very same month that Calvin took up his studies in Paris he would have witnessed the burning of the Augustinian monk, Jean Vallière, for his unorthodox positions concerning the incarnation of Christ.⁵ Three years later, the Parlement of Paris prohibited the printing of Luther's writings, as well as vernacular translations of the Pauline epistles, the Apocalypse, and other books of Scripture, to help stop the dangerous spread of reform.⁶ In time the works of Erasmus, Dolet, and Zwingli would be added to that list, essentially making the very act of

3 Alister E. McGrath, *A Life of John Calvin* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), p. 6.

4 Alexandre Ganoczy, *The Young Calvin* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1987), p. 55.

5 *Ibid.*, p. 49.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 63.

reading and comparing ideas a criminal offence.⁷

Calvin was apparently still firmly within the Catholic tradition into the 1530s. In 1531, he wrote to a young Parisian woman, encouraging her as she was about to take her final vows as a nun; the end of that same year found him in friendly correspondence with a bishop in Picardy; the following year, he dedicated his first published work, his commentary on Seneca's *De clementia* to the abbot of St Eloi of Noyon.⁸ The books in these cases represent something of the tension in Calvin's world – a world in which the scholasticism of his teachers and the nascent modernity of their critics uncomfortably coexisted.

7 David J. Nicholls, 'The Nature of Popular Heresy in France, 1520-1542', *The Historical Journal*, vol. 26, no. 2 (June 1983), p. 261.

8 Ganoczy, *op. cit.*, p. 72-73.

1 Peter Lombard (ca. 1100-1160). *Sententiarum libri IV*. [England? ca. 1250].

In 1523, Calvin entered the Collège Montaigu at the University of Paris to expand the studies he had begun at his home in Noyon. It was as a student there that he was most likely introduced to the *Liber Sententiarum* of Peter Lombard, perhaps by one of the college professors, John Major. Calvin was certainly familiar with this fundamental theological textbook, referring to it some forty times in his 1536 *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. While his criticism of the official Roman conception of the Church is rooted in what he perceived to be Lombard's ecclesiological errors, he certainly admired the book's organizational clarity, and may have adapted its quadripartite structure for his own *Institutes*. This manuscript, with its cramped gothic minuscule script dating from the late thirteenth century, is typical of the late mediaeval and early humanist schoolbooks used in the Parisian schools.

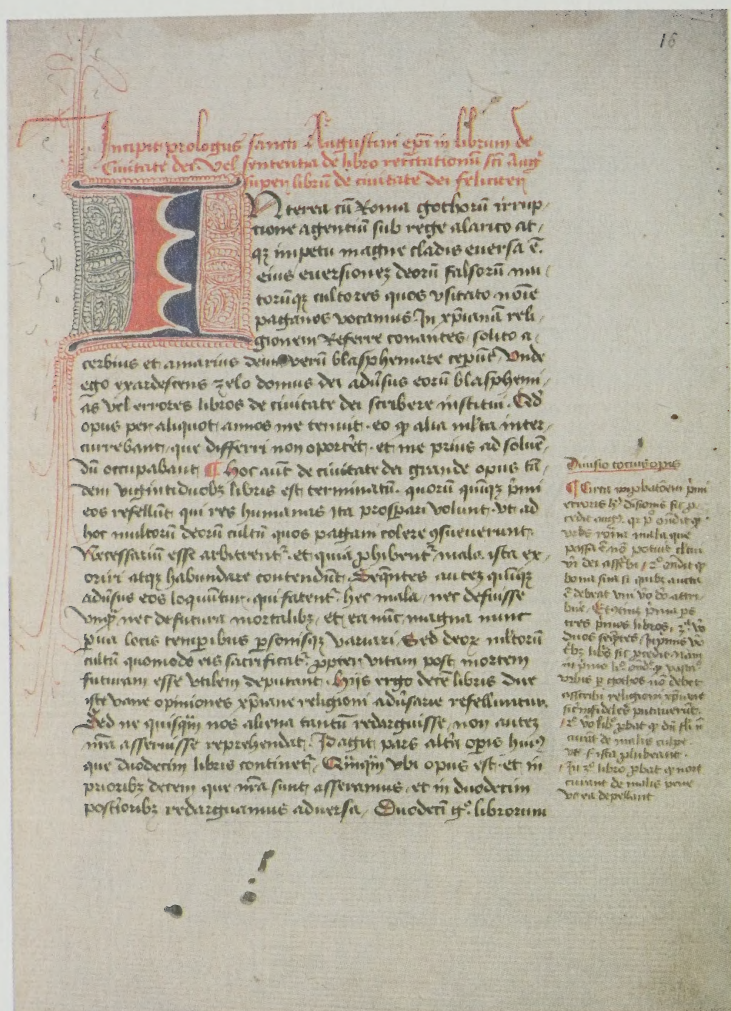


From the beginning of Lombard's Sententiarum libri IV, ca. 1250

2 Prague Missal. [Bohemia: ca. 1400-1410].

In 1536, the General Assembly of Geneva, with the support of the city's two principal ministers William Farel and John Calvin, formally abolished all papal ceremonies including the Mass. Four years later, Calvin explained his opposition to the Roman liturgy in his *Treatise on the Lord's Supper*. 'To the Mass has been wholly transferred what was proper to the death of Christ, viz., to satisfy God for our sins, and so reconcile us to him. Moreover, the office of Christ has been transferred to those whom they name priests, viz., persons to sacrifice to God, and in sacrificing, intercede to obtain for us grace, and the pardon of our offences.' In Calvin's vision of the reformed Church, the Bible replaced the Missal as the principal text for public worship. Thus the liturgical emphasis shifted from the ornate Latin ritual to evangelical preaching in the vernacular and books, such as this beautiful Mass book from Prague, quickly became obsolete in the Protestant world.

On loan from a private collection.



The beginning of Augustine's *De civitate dei* from a mid-fifteenth century manuscript

3 St Augustine (354-430). *De civitate dei*. [Germany? ca. 1450].

There is no doubt that, after St Paul, no other figure from the early church exerted as much influence over the Reformation as did St Augustine of Hippo. For Calvin he was of inestimable importance, influencing his epistemology, Christology, soteriology, and anthropology especially with reference to his teachings on grace and predestination, prompting him to exclaim 'Augustine is totally ours!'. Certainly,

Augustine's *De civitate dei* or 'City of God' touched on all of these topics, and featured prominently in Calvin's commentary on Seneca's *De clementia*. Quotations from Augustine increased with every new edition of the *Institutes* that Calvin issued up to the year 1559. This manuscript of Augustine's seminal text dates from the period just before the invention of the printing press, and shows extensive glossing, typical of theologians on the eve of the Reformation.

4 **St Thomas Aquinas (ca. 1225-1274). *Summa theologiae: pars prima*. Padua: Albrecht von Stendal, 1473.**

This Padua publication is the earliest known printed edition of Aquinas's masterpiece. Intended as a compilation of all theological knowledge, the *Summa* also represents the high water mark for scholastic philosophy and theology, much of which would be rejected by the reformers of the sixteenth century. Calvin's last editions of the *Institutes*, written almost three centuries after Aquinas put quill to parchment have, however, been considered similarly definitive as the foundational expression of reformed Christianity and even in their structure may owe something to Aquinas's influence. Certainly, both in methodology and thought, Calvin did not entirely break with his mediaeval heritage; and where Aquinas relies on Scripture rather than Aristotelian logic, the two thinkers are generally in agreement.



Incipit page from Duns Scotus's *Quaestiones*. Venice, 1476

- 5 John Duns Scotus (1266-1308). *Quaestiones in quattuor libros Sententiarum*. Venice: Johann von Köln & Johann Manthen, 1476.

Duns Scotus was one of the greatest philosophers of the High Middle Ages. Universally respected for his clarity of thought, he courted controversy by rejecting Aquinas's distinction between essence and existence. Although much of Scotus's own scholasticism was ultimately rejected by the reformers, at least one aspect of his teaching was certainly retained by Calvin, and that was his voluntarism. In his commentary on Lombard's

famous *Sentences*, Scotus affirmed that the value of a human offering is determined by the divine will alone, rather than its own inherent goodness. Calvin would apply this principle in his *Institutes* when he located the merit of Christ's self-offering in the Father's decision to accept it for human redemption, rather than in the offering itself. This particular copy of Duns Scotus is the only one known to have been printed on vellum.

- 6 St Bonaventure (ca. 1217-1274). *Apologia pauperū sancti Bonaventure*. Cologne: Johann Koelhoff the Elder, ca. 1485.

While the Franciscan St Bonaventure lived some three hundred years before Calvin, his thought continued to cast a long shadow over the schools in which the reformer would study. Like Calvin, Bonaventure was a student in Paris but he remained in the city as an adult, and went on to compose a commentary on Lombard's *Sententiae*. Although he remains one of the greatest representatives of scholasticism, Bonaventure did not see the movement's theological formulations as ends in themselves but rather as aids to faith, piety, and prayer. The aim of this particular book was to reinterpret the testament of St Francis against those who had charged the conventual branch of the Franciscans with hypocrisy on the subject of riches. Echoes of Bonaventure's thought may be found in Calvin's treatment of nature.

- 7 Seneca (4 B.C. – A.D. 65). *Opera Philosophica*. Venice: Bernardino de' Cori de Cremona and Simon de Luere, 1490.

In 1532, Calvin wrote his first literary commentary, not on the Scriptures, but on Seneca's *De clementia*. In Calvin's opinion, Seneca belonged to the second rank of Latin philosophers and orators, just behind Cicero; but, it was precisely Seneca's rhetorical skills that attracted Calvin, a man who was eager to learn the art of persuasion through speech. Although Calvin's commentary did not sell particularly well, it provided the first evidence that here was a scholar concerned with historical context and effective communication, two of the central characteristics of his later preaching and writing.

- 8 William of Ockham (1288-1348). *Expositio aurea super totam artem veterem*. Bologna: Benedetto Faelli, 1496.

While William of Ockham's voluntarist school was extremely influential in Paris during the time that Calvin studied there, it is unclear the extent to which he was personally affected by it. Ockham was certainly not well-represented in the Genevan Academy Library which was organized some seven years after Calvin's death. Nevertheless, Ockham's thought on the absolute sovereignty of God and his will provide the most proximate mediaeval basis for the doctrine of double predestination (or limited atonement) as it would develop within the Reformed tradition. According to Ockham, God was not bound by morality since what he did was moral by definition. That God could create some humans for salvation and others for damnation was, therefore, utterly good and consistent with his sovereignty. The doctrine has since been rejected by most branches in the Calvinist tradition.

- 9 Guillaume Budé (1468-1540). *Annotationes in quattuor et viginti Pandectarum libros, ad Ioannem Deganiium, cancellarium Franciae*. Paris: Ex officina Ascensiana, 1508.

Calvin ranked Guillaume Budé among the greatest of all scholars, and considered him unsurpassed even by Erasmus. Calvin had abandoned his initial theological studies by about 1528 when he began his legal courses at Orléans. By this time, Budé had become the foremost exponent of the new humanist legal tradition, the *mos gallicus*, which was sweeping France. This new approach to legal interpretation returned directly to ancient Roman and Greek sources rather than relying on mediaeval glosses, as had been the custom throughout Europe for several centuries. It was Budé's insistence on the link between law and letters that likely introduced Calvin to the centrality of the primary source as the foundation for all genuine scholarship. Budé's 1508 *Annotationes* was to law what Erasmus's New Testament would be to the Scriptures. As the first book to introduce the historico-critical method to jurisprudence, it was nothing less than revolutionary for its time.

- 10 Pope Leo X (1475-1521). *Bulla, siue, Cedula materiā uniuersalis pacis & destinationis legato[rum] de latere*. Rome: [M. Silber?] 1513.

Jan Hus, the Bohemian priest executed in 1415 for his religious beliefs, represents for many the beginnings of the Reformation in Europe. His persecuted followers held fast to his interpretation of the faith even after his martyrdom and were one of the foci of this particular Roman Bull. Calvin was four years old when the newly-elected Leo X sent legates to the Hussite communities in an attempt to heal the breach in the Church and bring peace to an embattled Christendom. Leo's diplomatic efforts were of little avail, and in 1520 he would refer to the 'infidelity of the Hussites' in his condemnation of Martin Luther. The sect survived in the United Brethren and the Moravian Brethren, but many were subsumed into the various Calvinist movements that sprang up across the continent because of the resonance of Hus's message with Calvin's teachings on the application of the Gospel to every aspect of living.

- 11 Euclid (fl. 300 B.C.). *Contenta: Euclidis Megarensis Geometricorum elemētorum libri XV. Campani Galli trāsalpini in eosdem cōmentariorum libri XV*. Paris: Henri Estienne, [1516].

Henri Estienne (ca. 1460-1520) was the founder of a dynasty of printers that would eventually find themselves Protestant exiles in Calvin's Geneva, printing many of his numerous works from the safety afforded there. Estienne's name first appears in 1502 as one of the printers of the humanist Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples's paraphrase of Aristotle's *Ethics*. Although d'Étaples died a Roman Catholic, he was, like Erasmus, sympathetic to the cause of reform. This particular volume was revised by d'Étaples, and is the first copy of Euclid printed outside of Italy. A masterpiece of typography, it confines the text to the left-hand column, thereby allowing ample space for the woodcut diagrams. It is a book with which Calvin was likely quite familiar since the study of Euclid had returned to the schools of France in the twelfth century and became mandatory by the end of the sixteenth century.

- 12 Josse Clichtove (1472-1543). *De vita et moribus sacerdotum, opusculum*. Paris: Henri Estienne, 1519.

Clichtove was a Flemish theologian and professor at the University of Paris. In 1528 he took an active part in the Council of Sens convened at Paris by Antoine Cardinal Duprat, and gathered together in a single volume the various arguments made against the Protestants at that time. Although he had been a champion of reform early in life, he latterly devoted himself almost exclusively to combating the doctrines of Luther. Clichtove's efforts were also directed at the reform of the secular clergy, as evidenced in the present title. In this book he developed a new and comprehensive concept of the priestly office that anticipated the spirit of the Council of Trent. In opposition to Erasmus (whom he does not name) he defended clerical celibacy and the fast. A second edition was printed by Simon de Colines in Paris in 1520 with further editions appearing in 1548, 1549, and 1550.

- 13 Martin Luther (1483-1546). *Iudicium D. Martini Lutheri, de Erasmo Roterodamo*. [s.l.: 1522?].

At the heart of Luther's disagreement with Erasmus was the question of the freedom of the will; but, as he explains in this 'judgment', he also believed that one of Erasmus's greatest threats to the programme of reformation was the eloquence with which he could make his case for a more cautious approach to change. The civil and religious leaders of Paris during Calvin's youthful sojourn there were certainly preoccupied with the thoughts of both men, but were particularly concerned with the doctrinal and social threats posed by Luther. His ideas, which were enthusiastically received by many among the city's intelligentsia, would certainly have been familiar to Calvin the student. In time he came to consider Luther a theological giant, and it appears that the first edition of his *Institutes* was modelled to a certain extent on Luther's Lesser Catechism of 1529. Calvin, however, was not uncritical of Luther's writings and activities; while he never directly challenged the German reformer, he entertained reservations about some of his teachings (especially on the sacraments and salvation), believed that he was stubborn in argument, and all-too-willing to accept the flattery of those in his inner circle.

Dupl

IVDICI V M

D. Martini LV THER I, de ERASMO
Roterodamo.

PHILIPPI Melanchthonis de Erasmo,
& Luthero BLO GION.

RATIO discendi, per eundem tradita:

Eiusdem, Quo iudicio Augustinus,
Ambrosius, Origenes, ac reliqui
DOCTORES legendi sint.

D. Martini LV THER I ad Vuolfgangum
Fabritium CAPITONEM theolo
gum, Epistola utilissima.

Emi 25. Junij 1554.

52374
26/12/01



14 Desiderius Erasmus (d. 1536). *Paraphrasis in Euangelium Iohannem*. Basel: Johann Froben, 1523.

As the standard bearer for humanism, Erasmus cast a long shadow over the course of the Reformation. His intense desire to return to the sources affected the broad spectrum of Christianity, from the most conservative Catholics to the most radical Protestants. His paraphrases of the New Testament for example, one volume of which is displayed here, proved to be so popular among both Catholics and Protestants that King Edward VI (1537-1553) decreed that copies should be retained in some convenient place in every parish church in England for easy reading by the congregation, while his sister, Queen Mary (1516-1558), translated his paraphrase of the Gospel of John into English herself. Erasmus was a close friend of the printer Johann Froben (d. 1527) who had already printed his 1519 *Novum Testamentum*. His initials may be seen hidden in the bottom left-hand corner of the woodcut border to the title page.

nis debet recipi pœnitens, non autem clericus pœnitens, quasi laici & clericus non haberet vnum christum. De hoc Lucifero fecit librum Hiero. qui dicitur altercatio Luciferiani & orthodoxi. Et gl. Leui. 13. Luciferiani dicunt animam de carnis substantia propagatam.

Luteriani, a quodam Martino luter nuncupati, & hic est debitus ordo, quia post Luciferianos subsequitur Luteriani, nam Luter cum Lucifero de luto fecis paratus est cum suis satellitibus suscitare sopitas hereses. de Luterianis in. 4. li. specialiter & finaliter differendum est, & isti exorti sunt tempore Maximiliani imperatoris & Leonis. 10. papæ. Ex multis erroribus Luteri, istos paucos extraxi, videlicet. Recens est inuentio sacramentorum. Sacramentum ordinis ecclesia Christi ignorat. Omnes Christiani habent eandem potestatem in verbo & sacramento quocunque. Omnes Christiani sunt sacerdotes. Confirmatio & extrema vinctio, non sunt sacramenta a Christo instituta. Manifestus est error missam applicare seu offerre pro peccatis, pro satisfactionibus, pro defunctis. &c. Negare laicis utramque speciem, est impium & tyrannicum. Credo firmiter panem esse corpus christi. Matrimonium non est sacramentum diuinitus institutum. Suadendum ut vota omnia tollentur aut vitentur. Christus nunquam peccatores coegit timore ad pœnitentiam. Confessio quæ nunc agitur occulte in aurem, nullo potest diuino iure reprobare. Quilibet sacerdos debet absolvere a pœna & culpa, aut peccat. Iustus in omni opere bono peccat. Scriptura diuina prorsus tota nihil habet de purgatorio. &c.

Mahometus genere Arabs pseudopropheta, inter hæreticos ponitur, illud enim quod in principio per Arrium seductor, diabolus non potuit perficere, hoc per Mahometum adimpleuit, omne Arrianorum venentium quod diabolus in aliis sparsim disseminauit, in Mahometum comprehensum euomuit. Hic mercator fuit vilissimus, princeps latronum, nuntius satanæ, præcursor Antichristi, complementum totius falsitatis, & hæresum. Hic cum Sabelio negat trinitatem, cum Arrio & Eunomio supponit Christum esse creaturam, deum Christum dicere, ridiculum putat, cum Carpoerate periuadet Christum neque deum: sed sanctum prophetam, cum Cerdonio affirmat impossibile esse deum habere filium, ob hoc quod uxorem non habet, cum Manichæis Christum non fuisse crucifixum, sed alium illi similem. Negat omnia ecclesiæ mysteria, quæ ab Christi passione efficaciam habent cum Donatistis, dicit dæmones saluari per Alcoranum cum Origenistis, cum Antropomorphitis cōmuni

15 Bernardus de Lutzenburgo (ca. 1460-1535). *Catalogus hæreticorum*. Paris: Jean Petit, 1524.

The author of this catalogue of heretics was a Dominican theologian and controversialist, as well as Inquisitor of the Archdioceses of Cologne, Mainz, and Trier. His high position notwithstanding, even Catholic authorities described him as ‘somewhat lacking in critical judgment’ with specific reference to his findings in this important book. Published while Calvin was still a student in Paris, he was likely aware of its contents and the list of men, including Martin Luther, condemned in its pages. The printer Jean Petit (d. ca. 1530) was one of the four authorized booksellers of the University of Paris, and was also one of the most highly esteemed practitioners of his craft in early Renaissance France.

16 Aristotle (384-322 B.C.). *Logica*. Lyon: Scipion de Gabiano, [1530?].

Once an elementary grounding in logic had been achieved by the young students of Paris, they began the more important examination of Aristotle's logic. It was only after this subject had been mastered that Calvin would have moved on to Aristotle's physics. Although much of European scholarship had by this time begun to abandon Aristotelian philosophy, the University of Paris remained unapologetically committed to it. Calvin would eventually reject the mediaeval scholasticism that was largely built upon Aristotle's teachings, but he remained persuaded by his natural philosophy, as is evident from his frequent references to Aristotelian cosmology. All direct references to Aristotle, initially found in the first Latin edition of the *Institutes*, were removed from the first French edition of 1541. His logic, however, remained important in reformed thought, especially in what came to be known as 'Protestant Scholasticism'. Aristotle's writings were eventually re-introduced into the divinity curriculum by Melanchthon at Wittenberg and by Beza at Geneva.

CASE THREE

Influences

During his school days in Paris and Orléans, Calvin was regularly exposed to the greatest authors from the classical, biblical, and legal traditions. Nevertheless, it may be argued that, with reference to his future career, he was principally influenced by the Augustinian school that had emerged in academic circles in the early sixteenth century. Indeed, some scholars have even defined the early Reformation period as the victory of Augustinianism over the pure form of nominalism popular in the late Middle Ages.⁹ Augustine would also be foundational to Calvin's thought on sin, ecclesiology, predestination, and eschatology, quoting him first in his commentary on Seneca and then giving him a position of honour in the *Institutes*.¹⁰

The other Church Fathers, whom Calvin knew exceedingly well, similarly affected the development of his systematic theology. Using the frequency of citations from his commentaries as evidence, it would seem that the writings of St Jerome shaped the development of his thought as much as did those of St Augustine. While honouring their insights he was not uncritical, and occasionally even censured Augustine, for example, when he deemed his interpretations of the Scriptures to be fanciful.¹¹ Mediaeval authors came under even more intense scrutiny; the last great writer of the period for whom Calvin appears to have held any esteem was St Bernard of Clairvaux.¹² The scholastics Lombard, Aquinas, and Duns Scotus were clearly suspect, though even from these he may have borrowed certain elements of their clear organizational structures while working on his *magnum opus*, the *Institutes*. As Alister McGrath notes, this 'serves to remind us that Calvin, far from breaking totally with the medieval tradition, actually adopts many theological and philosophical positions of an impeccable medieval pedigree.'¹³

9 McGrath, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

10 Gilmont, *op. cit.*, p. 158-159.

11 Walter de Greef, 'Calvin as Commentator on the Psalms', *Calvin and the Bible* (Cambridge: University Press, 2006), p. 88-89.

12 Anthony N.S. Lane, *John Calvin: Student of the Church Fathers* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1999), p. 87-114.

13 McGrath, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

Among Calvin's contemporaries, several scholars played significant roles in his intellectual development such as Mathurin Cordier, a beloved teacher from his days at the Collège de la Marche in Paris. Cordier, one of the fathers of modern pedagogy, was also a follower of the *devotio moderna*. A committed reformer, it was to him that Calvin would dedicate his commentary on I Thessalonians in 1550.¹⁴ The printed works of humanists like Erasmus, and the first generation of reformers such as Luther, Bucer, and Wolfgang Musculus would also help to shape his ideas. Bucer and Musculus, for example, proved to be important sources for Calvin's understanding of the Hebrew Scriptures and Jewish authors in general,¹⁵ while his analysis of the Bible was undertaken with one eye on Erasmus's new translation of the New Testament.¹⁶ Although he disagreed on several important points of doctrine and ethics with Martin Luther, nevertheless Luther's writings, especially the catechisms, provided inspiration for the first *Institutes* printed at Basel in 1536.¹⁷

One really cannot separate the Reformation from the development of printing and the history of the book. The reformers recognized very quickly the potential of these new technologies to multiply their texts inexpensively and disseminate their ideas widely. It was not coincidental, therefore, that any town in which the Reformation triumphed, like Geneva, almost always had a heavy concentration of printers living there as well.¹⁸

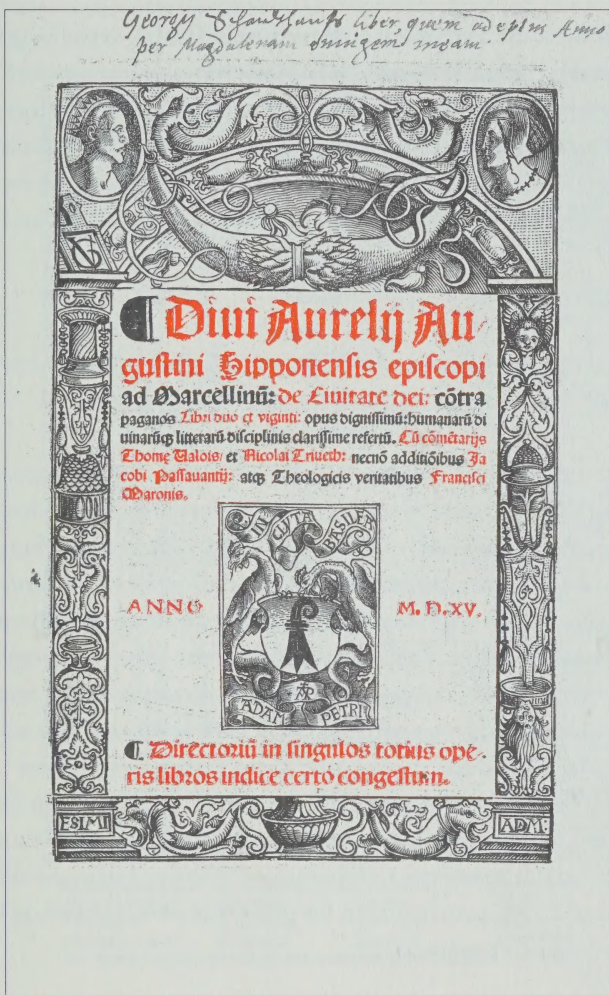
14 Ganoczy, *op.cit.*, p. 57.

15 Greef, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

16 T.H.L. Parker, *John Calvin: A Biography* (London: Dent, 1975), p. 23; Ganoczy, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

17 George H. Tavard, *The Starting Point of Calvin's Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), p. 116. Cf. also Karl Barth, *The Theology of John Calvin* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1995), p. 70-90.

18 *Le livre à Genève 1478-1978* (Geneva: Comité du 500e anniversaire, 1978), p. xi.



- 17 St Augustine (354-430). *Diui Aurelij Augustini Hipponensis episcopi : De summa trinitate que deus*. Basel: Johannes Koburger and Adam Petri, 19 May 1515.

Calvin confessed that while he admired Augustine's scholarship, he was irritated by the saint's verbosity. Nevertheless his quotations from Augustine increased in every new edition of the *Institutes* until he was represented once in almost every column. Indeed, the thirteenth chapter of the first book of the *Institutes* is entitled 'On the Trinity' and owes its greatest debt to this earlier text in which the Bishop of Hippo parses

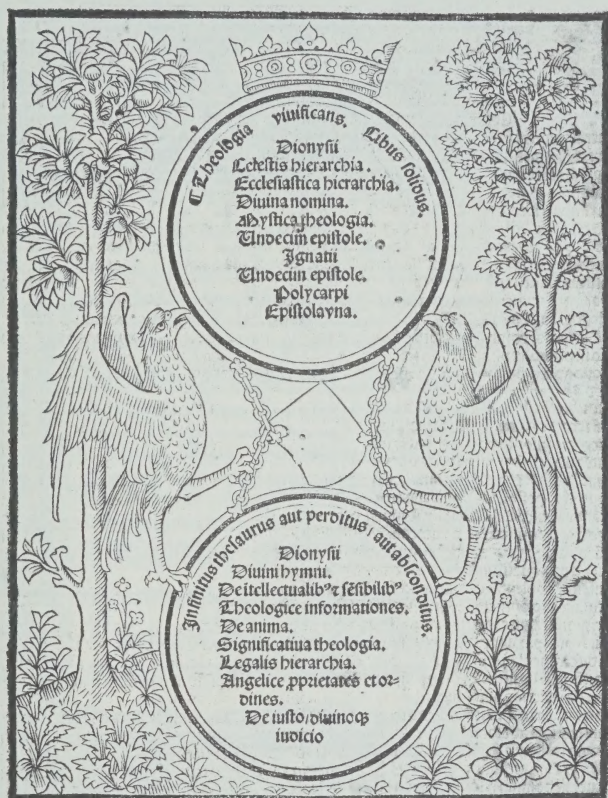
every facet of both the immanent and economic Trinity, explaining the way in which the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit relate to one another within the Godhead, and manifest themselves in creation. Whether Calvin deserves the blame for the event or not, the only execution in Geneva during his pastorate was that of Michael Servetus in 1553 for his denial of the doctrine of the Trinity as taught by both Catholics and the reformers.

- 18 Bernard of Clairvaux (1190 or 91-1153). *Meditatio[n]es sancti Bernardi abbatis*. Paris: Félix Baligault, ca. 1495-1498.

It is still a matter of debate the degree to which Calvin was indebted to the authors of the mediaeval period for the development of his ideas. Recent scholarship, however, confirms that Calvin allowed the thought of St Bernard to influence the revisions of his masterpiece, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*. Although he was rather disparaging of Bernard early in his career, he appears to have warmed to the saint's theology later in life, especially as it was expressed in Bernard's sermons on the Song of Songs. The reason for Calvin's increased tolerance appears to be rooted in his perception of Bernard as the last true Latin Father, before Peter Lombard would take the Church down the road of Scholasticism from which the Reformation would attempt to provide a route back to a more primitive Christian expression. Calvin quoted Bernard forty-one times between 1539 and 1559, principally in his polemical works as well as in several of his biblical commentaries.

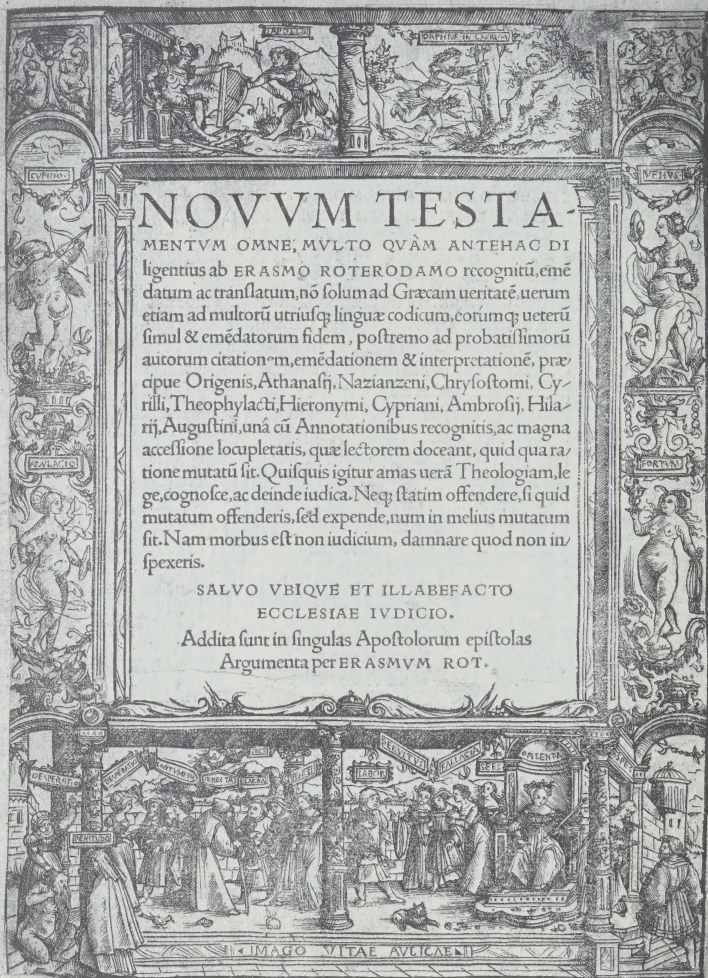
- 19 Pseudo-Dionysius, the Areopagite, ed. by Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (d. 1536). *Theologia viuificans, cibis solidus*. [Paris: Johann Higman & Wolfgang Hopyl, 1498].

Through Johannes Scotus Erigena (ca. 815-877) the theological vocabulary of Dionysius the Areopagite was preserved and spread through the late mediaeval world to which Calvin was heir. Dionysius is a shadowy historical figure who was supposedly in Paul's audience on the day that he preached at the Areopagus in Athens; it is claimed that he became the martyred bishop of Paris, now known as St-Denis. A mystical document



Consuper adduntur De heresibus. De fide catholica. De contemptu mudi non habita.
Cum puritate Religione Pietate Deuotione
 Humilitate Reuerentia attentione et queq;
 alia sacra scripta Tractentur Legantur Seruiuntur:
 Ad Ihesu paterne lucis alium munerum et auctoris et largitoris honorem.
 A. i.

attributed to him (but denied by Calvin to be by the biblical Dionysius) describes the characteristics of the 'Unknown god' in a manner that later influenced both him and Luther on the question of the divine hiddenness. The widow of the printer of this particular volume, Johann Higman, would eventually remarry Henri Estienne, whose descendants would be involved in the Geneva printing trade throughout Calvin's career in that city.



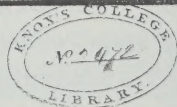
Title page to Erasmus's 1519 translation of the New Testament.

- 20 Desiderius Erasmus (d. 1536), ed. *Novum Testamentum*. Basel: Johann Froben, 1519.

For humanists like Erasmus, the return to the sources was about the rediscovery of truth and accuracy. When compared with the original Greek text, it became readily apparent that the Vulgate of St Jerome, the authorized Bible of the Catholic world, though excellent in many ways, also contained numerous inaccuracies. In 1511, therefore, Erasmus began the monumental task of retranslating the New Testament, and in 1516 his *Novum Instrumentum* first saw the light of day. It was not without its own errors, however, and so this 1519 edition represents the improved, corrected New Testament in Greek and Latin which Luther would use as the basis for his great 1522 German New Testament. Erasmus's edition is also noteworthy for the frequently controversial annotations he makes upon biblical texts. He noted that mistranslations in the Vulgate had affected Catholic practice over the centuries, including the exhortation in Matthew 4:17, 'metanoëite', which had been erroneously translated in the Latin as 'poenitentiam agere' or 'do penance' when in fact it simply meant 'repent'. This nuance in meaning would help Calvin and the reformers reject pious activities in favour of true conversion of the heart.

- 21 Martin Luther (1483-1546). *Piae ac doctae in psalmos operationes*. Basel: Adam Petri, 1521.

This book is based on the second series of lectures that Luther delivered on the Psalter before his appearance at the Diet of Worms in April of 1521. It was actually printed by Adam Petri in March, only weeks before Luther refused to recant his theological positions at that historic meeting. By the time that Calvin arrived in Paris two years later, the threat posed by Luther and his new movement dominated the theological and political agenda of the city. While his ideas were very popular with many in the city's academic and ecclesiastical communities, they were quickly and officially condemned, with the first Parisian Lutheran burned at the stake in 1523. In his career of reform, Calvin always maintained a respectful attitude towards Luther, though somewhat wary of his doctrinal conservatism. Nevertheless, the structure of his first edition of the *Institutes* was influenced by Luther's Lesser Catechism.



Title page to Luther's commentary on the Psalms, *Piae ac Doctae in Psalmos operationes*. Basel, 1521.

- 22 Philipp Melanchthon (1497-1560). *Loci communes theologici*.
Basel: Joannes Oporinus, 1550.

Melanchthon essentially established the structure of Lutheran theology in this book, first published in 1521. The controversies of the period forced him to expand the text considerably over the years but, some scholars maintain, without elegance. Nevertheless, the book was praised by Luther himself, and laid the foundations for Lutheran theology in Germany, Scandinavia, and beyond. Calvin faced problems similar to Melanchthon's, but seems to have expanded his *Institutes* more systematically over time, leading to the intellectual domination of the Protestant movement outside of the Lutheran territories. His mature doctrine of double predestination was likely influenced by his correspondence with Melanchthon, who had learned of it from his teacher, Martin Luther. Luther himself had been exposed to the doctrine through his fellow Augustinian, Gabriel Biel, an Ockhamist.

- 23 Martin Bucer (1491-1551). *De regno Christi Iesu servatoris nostri, libri II*. Basel: Joannes Oporinus, [1557].

During the period of his exile from Geneva (1538-1541) Calvin lived and worked as a minister in the city of Strasbourg where Martin Bucer had established himself as a Reformer in 1523. Before his arrival, Calvin had been openly critical of some of Bucer's doctrine, but whilst in the city, he enjoyed full access to his library. The two became friends and confidants. Subsequently Bucer became one of the greatest admirers and promoters of Calvin's writings, and exerted great influence over Calvin's thought, especially on the nature and structure of the Church. In 1549, following the imposition of the Augsburg Interim, Bucer fled to Cambridge where he was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity. He died there in 1551. This book, a practical proposal for the reform of the Church in England, was the last treatise written by Bucer and dedicated to King Edward VI. Upon the accession of Queen Mary I, Bucer was posthumously condemned as a heretic. His body was disinterred from its resting place in St Mary's Church, Cambridge and burnt.



Martinus Bucer
Natus A.^o 1491 Obijt. A.^o 1551 Feb. 27.
Engraving by F. Baskerville & H. Parker, in Grenfell, London.

Portrait of Martin Bucer from Robert Rolt, *Lives of the Principal Reformers*, London, 1759.

- 24 Mathurin Cordier (1479-1564). *Formulae, sive, Sententiae latinogallicae ex Budaeo, Cicerone, Terentio, Plauto, Horatio, Persio, Ouidio, Virgilio, pluribusque aliis*. Paris: Maurice Ménier, 1559.

The grammarian Cordier was one of Calvin's favourite teachers at Paris. In 1550 Calvin dedicated his Commentary on I Thessalonians to his former instructor, to acknowledge his 'intellectual debt' and 'testify to posterity, that, if they derive any benefit from my writings, they must, in a great measure, acknowledge it to have flowed from your instructions.' The regard was apparently mutual since Calvin eventually won his former teacher for the cause of the Reformation. Cordier, who moved to Geneva where he died, wrote seven important books, mostly on language and style, several of which continued in regular classroom use for some three centuries after his death, especially in England.

CASES FOUR TO SIX

The Writings of John Calvin

As impersonal as statistics may be, they have the power to astonish readers with the starkness of reality, and that is certainly the case when examining the place of John Calvin as an author. Of all of the sheets of print produced by individual writers in the period from 1541 to 1565, Calvin is responsible for 42% of the total. His next nearest rivals were Pierre Viret (12%), Bernardino Ochino (4%), Guillaume Farel (3%), and Philip Melanchthon (3%). Ironically, even the Bible only accounts for 14% of total print output during this era.¹⁹ It is clear, therefore, that the way in which Calvin's writings flooded the market at such a critical moment in history as the Reformation was unprecedented and helps explain why his thought took hold so rapidly and in such diverse parts of the European continent.

Calvin's first published work was his commentary on Seneca's *De clementia* which he published at his own expense in 1532 at the age of twenty-four.²⁰ His first theological treatise, the *Psychopannychia* (on the immortality of the soul), appeared two years later²¹ and ushered in a prodigious career as a writer. Between 1550 and his death fourteen years later, Calvin's annual literary output never dropped below 100,000 words.²² Writing and publishing were central to his vocation as teacher and preacher; and if the burghers of Geneva occasionally disagreed with him on other issues, they always supported him in his publishing endeavours, while enjoying the revenues they routinely brought to their city.²³ Scholars have tended to focus on the various editions of his most influential book, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion*, seeing therein the summary of his reformed thought. Recently, however, greater attention has been paid to Calvin's often overlooked commentaries on the

19 Jean-François Gilmont, *Le livre réformé au xvie siècle* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2005), p. 48.

20 Ganoczy, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

21 Tavard, *op. cit.*, p. 1-19.

22 Andrew Pettegree, *The French Book and the European World* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), p. 95.

23 *Ibid.*, p. 89.



Title page vignette from Calvin's *Opera Omnia*, Amsterdam, 1667, Volume 2.

Scriptures and his sermons, which constitute the greatest part of his writings and may better reflect his theology.²⁴

Not surprisingly, Calvin's writings were controversial from the day they first appeared. The Parlement of Paris formally banned his *Institutes* on 1 July 1542, though it is clear that they used this occasion as an opportunity to control the printing of books in France generally. Threatened with death, printers were ordered to surrender all of their copies of the *Institutes* within three days of the proclamation of the edict; and in order to avoid editions of books being printed in less desirable locations, like Geneva and Basel, and then being smuggled into Catholic France, officials also decreed that printing would be permitted only in approved establishments under a master printer who was obliged to leave his mark and place of publication on every book produced.²⁵

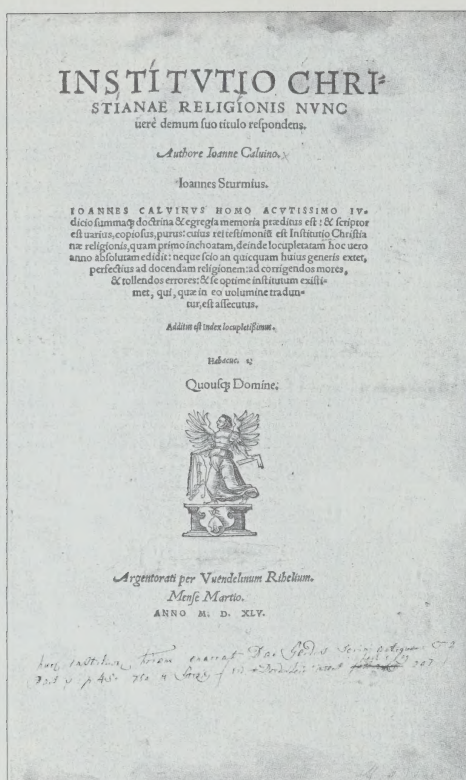
Calvin continued the revolution begun by Luther that replaced the visual with the aural by supplanting the Mass with the preaching and interpretation of the Word.²⁶ It was a revolution that would come to emphasize literacy so that individuals could read and interpret the Scriptures and other Christian texts for themselves. Such was the Genevan ideal, and although it would not be realized in the sixteenth century, it did become a hallmark of the reformed tradition – a tradition that Calvin's writings helped to usher in.²⁷

24 Donald K. McKim, ed., *Calvin and the Bible* (Cambridge: University Press, 2006), p. xi.

25 Elizabeth Armstrong, *Robert Estienne: Royal Printer* (Cambridge: University Press, 1954), p. 167.

26 R. Ward Holder, 'Ecclesia, legenda atque intelligenda Scriptura: The church as discerning community in Calvin's hermeneutic', *Calvin Theological Journal* 36 (2001), p. 270.

27 Jeffrey R. Watt, 'Calvinism, Childhood, and Education: The Evidence from the Genevan Consistory', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, XXXIII/2 (2002), p. 449.



25 John Calvin (1509-1564). *Institutio Christianae religionis*. Strasbourg: Wendelin Rihel, 1545.

In 1534 Calvin left his native France and initially settled in Basel where he wrote that most famous of his texts, the *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, though it was not published, until March of 1536. In 1545, Wendelin Rihel published this fourth Latin edition which reproduces much of the 1543 impression line by line, including many of the typographical errors. The bibliographical references, however, are more extensive. Although previous editions had been issued with matching French translations, such was not the case here. Calvin, of course, enjoyed a significant connection with the city of Strasbourg. In 1538 the Geneva City Council expelled Calvin after he lost a challenge over who had the final judgment in the moral censure of citizens – the Church or the State. He moved to Strasbourg where he served as pastor from 1538 until 1541, when he returned to Geneva at the invitation of the city council which, among other things, had been

impressed by his spirited response to Cardinal Sadolet's 1539 appeal to the Genevans to return to the bosom of Rome. Even after his return, however, Calvin preferred to have his Latin works, like this text, printed at Strasbourg until the risk of losing manuscripts in transit forced him to move all of his printing operations to Geneva.

26 John Calvin (1509-1564). *Commentariorum Ioannis Caluini in Acta Apostolorum, liber I*. Geneva: Jean Crespin, 1552.

Although Calvin promised in both his 1539 *Institutes* and his 1540 commentary on Romans that he would continue to produce Biblical commentaries, their appearance was delayed after he returned to Geneva in 1541 when his immediate attention turned to preaching and the continued reorganization of the local church administration. This book is the first edition of the first part of his commentary on the Acts of the Apostles, with the Biblical text printed in a larger font than Calvin's explanations. Calvin preached ninety-five Sunday sermons on Acts between 25 August 1549 and 27 November 1552. Although he delivered two sermons each Sunday on this biblical text alone, he did not complete the series until March of 1554 after which a second volume containing his thoughts on chapters fourteen to twenty-eight appeared. The copy on display was published one year after the promulgation of the Edict of Chateaubriand by Henri II (1519-1559) which, among other things, allowed for the seizure of Protestant property, strictly regulated what the French press could and could not print, formalized the censoring authority of the Paris Faculty of Theology, and required the regular inspection of booksellers' premises for violations of the new law. It also took direct aim at the city of Geneva itself. Four years earlier, the Parlement had identified it as a centre for the publication of heretical literature; now the importation of books of any sort from that city was strictly forbidden. It was not at all unusual from this time forward, therefore, for the printers of Geneva to produce two issues of the same edition, one with the name of the author and printer, and another without, to facilitate their transport into Catholic countries. Interestingly, the printer Jean Crespin (d. 1572) here still cites 'Geneva' as the place of publication on the title page, even though its inclusion would automatically prevent its importation into France.

27 John Calvin (1509-1564). *In librum Psalmorum Ioh. Caluini Commentarius*. Geneva: Robert Estienne, 1557.

It is in the preface to this book that Calvin first describes the spiritual journey that led to his conversion around 1533, and how he came to embrace his vocation as a reformer. This was particularly important for Calvin since he was not formally ordained, and so the legitimacy of his mission had to be justified both to himself and to his followers. Calvin began lecturing on the Psalms in 1552; the actual printed commentary, however, did not appear until December of 1556, and finished in July of the following year. Estienne printed the book without the city council's permission, earning a formal reprimand for him and Calvin. Beza, writing to Heinrich Bullinger on 27 March 1557, noted that 'Calvin, who is quite unjustly overwhelmed as you know, consoles himself by writing the commentaries on the Psalms. In this work, he will certainly surpass himself.' The marginalia in this copy of his commentary testifies to the popularity and influence of his exegesis through the centuries.

28 John Calvin (1509-1564). *Ioannis Calvini Commentarii in Isaiam prophetam*. Geneva: Jean Crespin, 1559.

Calvin personally revised his earlier 1551 Isaiah commentary based on notes taken by Nicolas Des Gallars (ca. 1520-1581); this edition, however, is twenty per cent longer. At the last minute, Calvin added a dedication page to Queen Elizabeth I (1533-1603) who had succeeded to the throne of England the previous November. The tribute was clearly political since Elizabeth was not well-disposed towards Calvin and the Protestants of Geneva, especially the exiles John Knox and Christopher Goodman who had written *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, a treatise hostile to Mary Tudor in which they inveighed against government by any woman. Writing in the spring of 1559 to William Cecil, Elizabeth's Secretary of State, Calvin noted the futility of his effort. 'The envoy to whom I had given my commentaries on Isaiah to offer to the most serene queen reported that my gesture was not terribly appreciated by Her Majesty, because she had been offended by certain small works published here.' The display copy is in its original binding with medieval manuscript waste visible at the hinge used as a sewing guard.

29 John Calvin (1509-1564). *Ioannis Calvini praelectiones in duodecim prophetas*. Geneva: Jean Crespin, 1559.

This edition is largely based on the notes taken by Jean Budé and Charles de Jonviller of the 184 lectures that Calvin gave on the subject of the Minor Prophets between 1556 and 1558. Indeed, some of these lectures on Malachi were delivered to an even smaller group of listeners while Calvin was bedridden with fever. In the preface to the 1560 French edition, the printer Jean Crespin noted that Calvin would deliver his lectures with barely a note in front of him. As a result, several auditors took detailed notes which were collated afterwards by de Jonviller and transcribed into the single, coherent text first published here and dedicated by Calvin to King Gustav I of Sweden.

30 John Calvin (1509-1564). *Institutio Christianae religionis*. Geneva: Robert Estienne, 1559.

Although the majority of Calvin's printed works are exegetical in character, his *Institutio* or *Institutes* is the lens through which they, and indeed all of his writings, should be examined. Essentially a summary of his reformed theology, this particular 1559 edition was considered by Calvin himself to be the definitive expression of his faith and, therefore, is arguably the most important doctrinal work of the Reformation. It was also the last book issued by the great printer Robert Estienne. It is noteworthy for the fact that it represents the only time that Estienne actually identified the place of printing as Geneva – an intentional omission in his earlier works to allow for their easier clandestine importation into Catholic France after the restrictions imposed by the Edict of Chateaubriand (1551). All of Calvin's writings were banned by England's Queen Mary I in 1555. Four years later the *Institutes* appeared on the *Index* of Pope Paul IV, and remained generally forbidden in Catholic circles until the suppression of the *Index* in 1966.

Calvinus
INSTITVTIO CHRI-

stianæ religionis, in libros qua-

tuor nunc primum digesta, certisq; distincta capitibus, ad aptissimam
methodum: aucta etiam tam magna accessione vt propemodum opus
nouum haberi possit.

IOHANNE CALVINO AVTHORE.

8. augustij. 1627. 7. ej. 1627

*1559
1722
31*

*1722
1559
163*



Oliua mihi confidit Stephani.

GENEVAE.

M. D. LIX.

CAVEN LIBRARY
KANE COLLEGE
TORONTO



- 31 John Calvin (1509-1564). *Soixante cinq sermons de Iean Calvin sur l'harmonie ou concordance des trois eua[n]gelistes, S. Matthieu, saint Marc, & S. Luc.* Geneva: Conrad Badius, 1562.

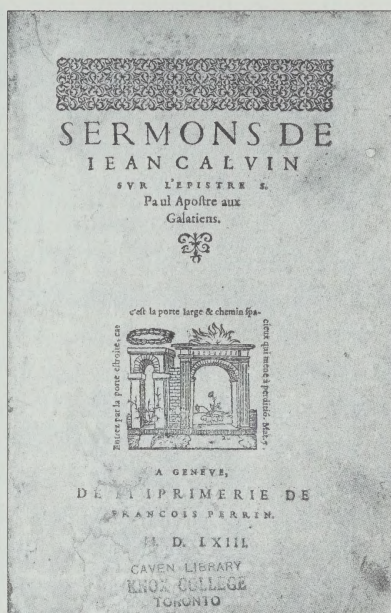
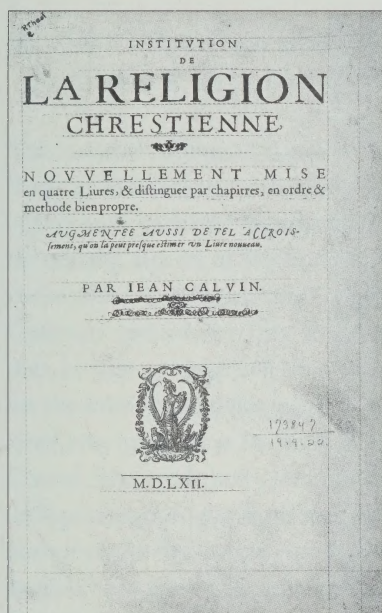
This collection is based on undated sermon notes taken by Denis Raguener, a French Protestant refugee and shorthand expert. Calvin preferred that his sermons not be printed since he almost always preached without notes. As a result, the published transcriptions could never be exact replications of his *viva voce* deliveries. In addition, Calvin intended his sermons for particular audiences and resisted the notion that they had the universal applicability that the printed text conveyed. Raguener nevertheless here records a sample of the numerous sermons that the reformer preached on the subject of the gospel harmony between July of 1559 and February of 1564. Despite Calvin's reservations, they stand as a model for reformed preaching. This was also one of the last books printed by Conrad Badius, printer of the first English Geneva New Testament, before he took up pastoral ministry in Orléans where he died of the plague in October 1562.

32 John Calvin (1509-1564). *Leçons sur le liure des propheties de Daniel*. Geneva: Jean de Laon, 1562.

This is the first edition of the French translation of Calvin's *Praelectiones in librum prophetiarum Danielis*, printed the previous year. The translation was done by Budé and Jonviller, with the financial backing of the publisher and book dealer Antoine Vincent who submitted a pre-publication exemplar of the French edition to the Council of Geneva on 7 September 1562. In the original 1561 edition, the printer Jean de Laon also included the Hebrew text since, as he wrote in the printer's preface, 'as a highly skilled interpreter, Calvin commonly read each verse first in Hebrew, and then translated it into Latin.' He explained in the preface to this volume that the book was translated into French 'so that those of the French nation who no longer understand Latin might participate in such a great good, and understand the revelations had by the prophet Daniel, and to recognize the singular grace of exposing them well, which God has done by his servant whom he has given to his church.'

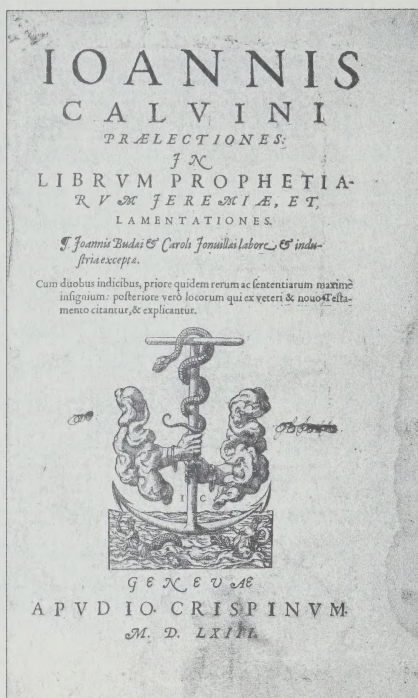
33 John Calvin (1509-1564). *Institution de la religion Chrestienne*. [Lyon: Louis Cloquemin and Henri Hylaïre?], 1562.

Printing the *Institutes* in Catholic France in the middle of the sixteenth century was a risky business that could easily lead to imprisonment; but when this book appeared in 1562, the Huguenot movement had reached its apex in Lyon, claiming a third of the city's population. Nevertheless, it was still safer to print the book anonymously and without location, as was the case here. The printer's device on the title page representing a soldier and the ornamental capitals used throughout were later used in a Genevan imprint of 1570 belonging to the Protestant printer, Louis Cloquemin (d. 1581). In 1562 and 1563, Cloquemin and his Calvinist partner Hylaïre were still operating in relative safety in Lyon. Two years after the dissolution of their partnership, Claude Senneton and Charles Pesnot purchased the unsold copies of this book and reissued it with their own printer's devices. This particular copy of the *Institutes* came from the library of Charles Stuart, Baron Stuart de Rothesay (1779-1845) who was British Ambassador to France in the years after the Napoleonic Wars.



34 John Calvin (1509-1564). *Sermons de Iean Calvin sur l'Epistre S. Paul apostre aux Galatiens*. Geneva: François Perrin, 1563.

Calvin began this series of sermons on Paul's Epistle to the Galatians on Sunday, 14 November 1557 and finished in May of the following year. As with the sermons on the gospel harmonies, so too was this book based on notes taken by Denis Raguenier during worship services. It had been the intention of Conrad Badius, the chief editor of Calvin's sermons, to print this particular collection himself 'because grace by Jesus Christ and the denial of the merit of human works are excellently treated in the Epistle to the Galatians.' The book, however, remained unpublished at the time of Badius's departure for Orléans in 1562. It was only then that the commission to print the homilies was passed on to François Perrin.



35 John Calvin (1509-1564). *Praellectiones in librum Prophetiarum Jeremiae, et, Lamentationes*. Geneva: Jean Crespin, 1563.

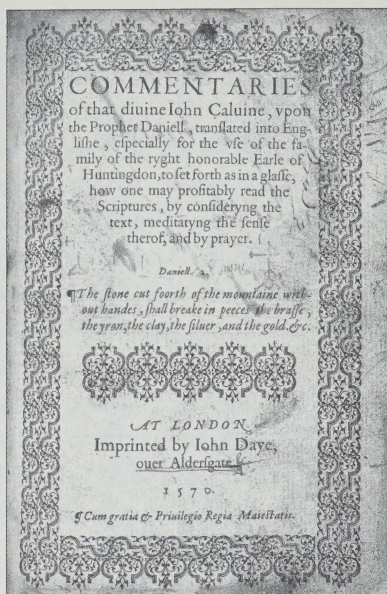
As with his lectures on the Minor Prophets, this collection was also based on the harmonization of notes taken by Calvin's auditors. Calvin began this series on the prophet Jeremiah at the beginning of 1559 and delivered his last address on 9 January 1563. Unlike Jean de Laon, the printer Jean Crespin chose not to print the Hebrew text on which Calvin had based his thoughts. His reasoning was that 'we doubt not that the experts in this language have the Hebrew close at hand, and we certainly think that it is not useful to others.' An enlarged edition of the lectures would also have proven very expensive, both to produce and to purchase. Crespin worked diligently on two presses to have the book ready for the Frankfurt Book Fair held in September of 1563. Because the volume was to have its debut there, Calvin dedicated it to the sympathetic Palatinate Elector Frederick III (1515-1576), though Bullinger belatedly warned him not to do so since the Elector was still carefully negotiating the dogmatic landmines between the Calvinists and the Zwinglians.

- 36 John Calvin (1509-1564). *Sermons de M. Jean Calvin sur les V livres de Moyse*. Geneva: Thomas Courteau, 1567.

This massive collection contains two hundred dated sermons on the Book of Deuteronomy delivered by Calvin between 20 March 1555 and 15 July 1556, gathered together by Denis Raguenier. One of the more interesting aspects of this book is its preface in which the editors chastise those who are now printing Calvin's works without the permission of the Genevan authorities. They fear that errors will creep into Calvin's pure text, or that writings will be ascribed to him that were never truly his, all for the sake of monetary gain – a thinly-veiled reference to the unauthorized 1565 printing at La Rochelle of Calvin's sermons on the prophet Daniel. The result was a letter of complaint to the Synod of Vertueil held in September of 1567 from Jean de la Haize, deacon of La Rochelle and author of the dedication in the 1565 Daniel, demanding that he be declared innocent of avarice and all ill intentions in the printing of Calvin's works. The Synod found in de la Haize's favour.

- 37 John Calvin (1509-1564). *Sermons de M. Iean Caluin sur le liure de Iob, recueillis fidelement de sa bouche selon qu'il les preschoit*. Geneva: François Perrin, 1569.

Calvin's sermons on Job, recorded by his listeners, provide an incisive view into the emergent reformed doctrine concerning the sovereignty of God as well as human meekness in the face of inexplicable suffering. His analysis demonstrates a familiarity with and understanding of the great mediaeval commentators on this most complex book of scripture, in particular Pope Gregory the Great, Moses Maimonides, and St Thomas Aquinas. In Calvin's view Job is a model for the elect in their ascent through earthly tribulation to God, and in many ways he steers closest to the analysis offered by Aquinas. Originally published in 1563, this book is the second edition of Calvin's sermons preached on Job. It appeared in the autumn 1569 catalogue of the Frankfurt Book Fair.



38 John Calvin (1509-1564). *Commentaries of that Diuine Iohn Caluine, vpon the Prophet Daniell*. London: John Daye, 1570.

Scholars have often had difficulty categorizing Calvin's commentary on Daniel which was first printed in 1561 since it is more a history lesson than an analysis of Scripture in the traditional sense. Among other things, Calvin used this commentary as a critique of those secular powers that, through their pride and infidelity, caused general political disorder. Thus, Nebuchadnezzar and Darius become foils to those righteous rulers who comply with the divine will and bring about peace and good government, an allusion no doubt to those legislators who had come to embrace the principles of his reform. Understood, however, is a critique of Catholic France on the eve of the Wars of Religion. The English translator of the commentary signed himself simply as 'A.G.', generally understood as 'Arthur Golding' the principal translator of Calvin into English; but the problem with this theory is that he had always previously signed his name in full. It has been suggested, therefore, that the responsible person was actually Anthony Gilby (ca. 1510-1585), a Marian exile in Geneva during the 1550s who likely attended Calvin's lectures. He was also closely allied to the dedicatee, Henry Hastings, the third Earl of Huntingdon (ca. 1536-1595).

- 39 John Calvin (1509-1564). *The Psalmes of Dauid and Others: with M. John Caluins Commentaries*. London: Thomas East and Henry Middelton for Lucas Harison and George Bishop, 1571.

Arthur Golding (ca. 1536 – ca. 1605) translated this edition of Calvin's commentary on the Psalms, dedicating the work to his nephew and former pupil, Edward de Vere, the Earl of Oxford. This was, in itself, a rather remarkable gesture since theological and scriptural texts were generally dedicated to ecclesiastics, not members of the laity. Golding defends his action, however, in true Calvinist style, seeing no need to differentiate between the ordained and the non-ordained in the divine scheme of salvation. In Golding's opinion, after the *Institutes*, this set of commentaries by Calvin 'beareth the Bel, bothe for varietie of matter, substantialnes of doctrine, depth of iudgement, and perfectnesse of penning.'

- 40 John Calvin (1509-1564). *Praelectiones in librum prophetiarum Danielis, Ioannis Budaei & Caroli Ionuillaei labore & industria exceptae*. [Geneva]: Barthélemy Vincent, 1571.

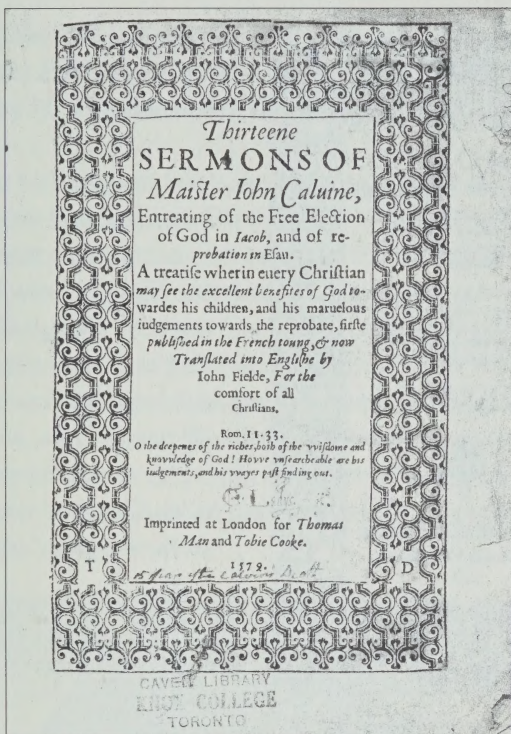
Calvin's lectures on Daniel commenced on 12 June 1559 and concluded in April of the following year. His transcribers were principally students, whose numbers were regularly supplemented by some of the older citizens of Geneva. Before a lecture actually began, the students would be given a brief Hebrew lesson based on the text upon which Calvin would expound that day, in this case the book of the prophet Daniel. Since Calvin lectured without notes, translating the Hebrew Scriptures as he went along, it is not surprising to find that he often repeated himself for clarity's sake and translated the same word in different ways to get at the core of its meaning. Displayed is a copy of the second Latin edition published ten years after the first.

- 41 John Calvin (1509-1564). *Iohannis Calvini Commentarii in omnes Pauli Apostoli epistolas*. Geneva: Eustache Vignon, 1579.

The role of Pauline literature in the development of Calvin's theology cannot be over-emphasized. It was especially through his meditations on Romans that he came to a mature doctrine of salvation through trust in Christ the Redeemer that does not require works on the part of the believer. Calvin in fact approached all of the Scriptures through Paul's eyes, in a manner that affected his whole doctrine of the faith. Since 1556 it had been the common practice to publish all of his commentaries on Paul together as a single volume; this particular issue represents a partial re-edition together with the Epistle to the Hebrews which was often attributed to the Apostle. The printer, Eustache Vignon, was a Protestant emigré who came to Geneva from Arras and was made a citizen in 1563. He would become the son-in-law and heir of the great early Geneva printer, Jean Crespin.

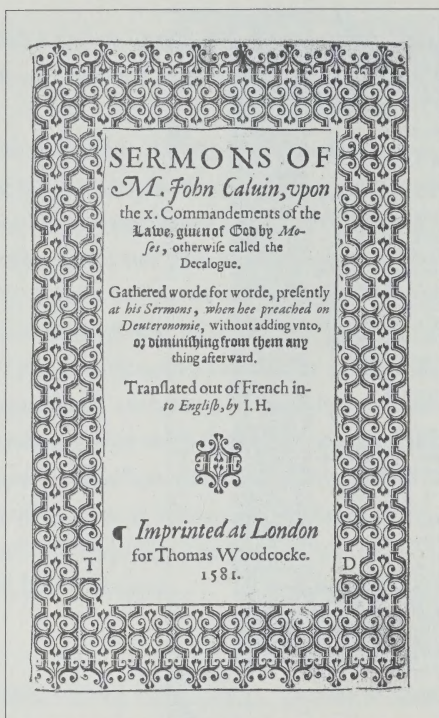
- 42 John Calvin (1509-1564). *Thirteene Sermons of Maister Iohn Caluine Entreating of the Free Election of God in Iacob, and of Reprobation in Esau*. London: Thomas Man and Tobie Cooke, 1579.

John Field's translation of Calvin's *Treze sermons traitans de l'election gratuite* is based on a second edition of that book which appeared in 1562. Field (1544-1588), an Anglican divine in the Puritan tradition, had already worked as a researcher on John Foxe's 1570 edition of the *Acts and Monuments* and in 1583 would gain notoriety for his condemnation of the Book of Common Prayer. In the dedicatory epistle to this work, Field whole-heartedly aligns himself with Calvin, especially on the doctrine of predestination. In addition, he provides a short bibliography of English authors who had already written on the subject including John Knox's *An Answer to a Great Number of Blasphemous Cauillations written by an Anabaptist*, number 69 in this exhibition.



- 43 Jean Calvin (1509-1564). *Stoicheiōsis tēs christianōn pisteōs e katēchismos. Rudimenta fidei christianae, siue catechismus. Huic adiunctus nunc est Catechismus alius magis compendiarius.* Geneva: Henri Estienne, 1580.

Calvin's first question-and-answer catechism appeared in 1545 in Latin and French. The English translation would prove the most popular of his books in the English-speaking world, even surpassing the *Institutes*. The printer of this particular edition, Henri Estienne (1531-1598), was arguably the greatest scholar in his family's history and was an author in his own right. He had joined his father Robert as an exile in Geneva in 1555 and operated a press there until his death. His greatest contribution to letters came, as demonstrated in this book, in his publication of Greek literature. This edition of Calvin's catechism was actually translated into Greek by Henri himself and was the first book published by his father Robert after his settlement at Geneva in 1551. Henri then re-issued it in 1563, 1565, 1575, and here in 1580.



- 44 John Calvin (1509-1564). *Sermons of M. Iohn Caluin, vpon the X. Commandementes of the Lawe, Giuen of God by Moses, otherwise called the Decalogue.* London: Thomas Dawson, for Thomas Woodcocke, 1581.

Three London booksellers – George Bishop, John Harison, and Thomas Woodcocke – provided the financial backing for this reprinting of Calvin's sermons on the Ten Commandments, which first appeared in English two years earlier, translated by John Harmer (1555?-1613), an Oxford student who was also an aspiring Greek scholar and translator. In 1582 Harmer graduated Master of Arts and moved to Geneva where he attended the lectures and sermons of Theodore Beza, a man whom he later acknowledged as a second father. He also had high praise for Calvin's work on the Decalogue, commending his 'trauelles thereon, most fruitfull and profitable, who striketh euer at the originall and roote of sinne, and bringeth the commandement to his olde, first, and true meaning, from the corrupt and common vnderstanding.'

- 45 *John Calvin (1509-1564). The Sermons of M. Iohn Calvin, vpon the Fifth Booke of Moses called Deuteronomie.* London: Printed by H. Middleton, for T. Woodcocke, 1583.

Arthur Golding was here once again responsible for the translation of some two hundred homilies preached by Calvin on Deuteronomy. This particular collection also includes the sixteen sermons on the Decalogue which were originally translated by John Harmar in 1579 and re-edited in 1581. The publication was financially sponsored by the three London booksellers who had previously seen the sermons on the Ten Commandments published in 1581, namely George Bishop, John Harison, and Thomas Woodcocke. Woodcocke appears to have had the greatest interest in the project as witnessed by his initials, appended to the letter 'to the Christian reader', in which he also laments the 'paine and cost' of its execution.



- 46 *John Calvin (1509-1564). Sermons of Maister Iohn Caluin vpon the Booke of Iob.* London: T. Woodcocke, 1584.

For all intents and purposes, this fourth edition of the English translation of Calvin's sermons on the Book of Job is an exact reproduction of the 1579-1580 edition originally printed by Thomas Dawson for George Bishop and Thomas Woodcocke. In 1584 it appeared in two separate issues, with the second under the name of George Bishop. The printer/publisher, Thomas Woodcocke (d. 1590), was one of a group of London craftsmen like Thomas Man and Lucas Harrison who specialized in the publication of the writings of the so-called 'godly men', as opposed to Christopher Barker and John Wolfe who were favoured by the members of the established church.

- 47 John Calvin (1509-1564). *An Abridgement of the Institution of Christian Religion, written by M. Ihon Caluin*. Edinburgh: T. Vautrollier, 1585 [i.e. 1586].

Christopher Fetherstone translated this volume from Guillaume Delaune's *Epitome de l'Institution*. In the dedication Fetherstone notes that the idea for the translation came from Delaune himself (identified here as 'William Lawn'), and in the letter to the reader he complains that the translation had originally been entrusted to four translators 'in whose hands it hath lyen dispersed, partly done, partly undone, for the space of almost three years.' The date of publication on the title page, therefore, must be erroneous since Delaune's *Epitome* appeared in 1583. Little is known of Fetherstone save that in the year he received his baccalaureate degree (1584) he also published a translation of Calvin's commentary on the Gospel of John, followed the next year by Calvin's commentary on the Acts of the Apostles. In 1586 he published a translation of François Hotman's *The Brutish Thunderbolt*, while the next year saw the publication of his final three known works: a translation of *Haggeus the prophet* with Johann Jacob Grynaeus's commentary, a translation of Léonard Constant's *Remonstrance chrestienne et salutaire*, and Tremellius's *Lamentations*.

- 48 *John Calvin (1509-1564). The Institution of Christian Religion.*
London: Printed by H. Middleton, for W. Norton, 1587.

This sixth English edition of the *Institutes* is testimony to the popularity of this seminal theological text amongst Elizabethan English Protestants. It first appeared in 1561, translated by Thomas Norton (d. 1584) and seven editions were issued through the course of the sixteenth century alone, namely in 1562, 1574, 1578, 1582, 1587, and 1599. These, of course, do not include the abridgements of the *Institutes* by Edmund Bunnie and Guillaume Delaune which were widely disseminated throughout England and Scotland during the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James VI (1566-1625). Interestingly, however, it was not the *Institutes* that proved the most popular of Calvin's books in early modern England; that honour went to his *Catechisme or Manner to Teache Children the Christian Religion* which first appeared in English in 1556.

- 49 *John Calvin (1509-1564). The Institution of Christian Religion.*
London: Arnold Hatfield, for Bonham Norton, 1599.

This seventh English edition of the *Institutes* was translated by Thomas Norton and includes Marlorat's tables at end. Norton's work was so highly esteemed that it remained the only English version available to the public until John Allen translated the work again in 1813. A stylist and devout Protestant – Norton was also son-in-law to Archbishop Cranmer – Norton confessed to some difficulty in rendering Calvin's prose accurately and elegantly, saying that the Reformer packed 'great plentie of matter in small roome of wordes ... so circumspectly and precisely ordered, to avoid ... cavillations ... in this matter of faith and religion'. The copy on display is heavily annotated throughout in a contemporary hand.

CASE SEVEN

The Birth of a Reformed Tradition

While the reformed tradition is forever linked in the popular imagination almost exclusively with the name of John Calvin, there were others who both preceded and followed him who helped to create a movement that was distinct from the one founded by Luther or developed by Cranmer. Among those pioneers were men like Oecolampadius, Wolfgang Musculus, Zwingli, Bucer, and Bullinger to name but five of those whose works are displayed throughout this exhibition. What Calvin and Beza achieved at Geneva, they pushed forward at Basel, Berne, Strasbourg, and Zurich; and while there were differences among them, what united them was their practical emphasis on the reform of both morals and the liturgy. Accomplished humanists, academics, and authors in their own right, their primary concern was more with the transformation of Christianity through right living principally based on the tenets of Scripture than with uniformity of doctrine.²⁸ Traditionally there are five pillars of reformed theology common to all of their spiritual heirs, those being: sola scriptura, solus Christus, the depravity of fallen humanity, the importance of reformed spirituality, and the necessity of cultural transformation.²⁹

In the later sixteenth century, within and beyond the Swiss cantons, a Protestant ethos was evolving which, strictly speaking, should be called 'Reformed' without necessarily being Calvinist. A new generation of thinkers was taking Calvin's ideas, developing, and modifying them in ways that the great reformer himself could not have imagined. In the English-speaking world, through Puritanism and Presbyterianism, this new reformed tradition would leave its impression, not only on the religious life of Britain and America, but also on its political and cultural institutions. In addition, the writings of authors like John Foxe and Clement Cotton would help to create a mythology of righteousness that would sustain the young, often persecuted movement.

28 Alister McGrath, *Reformation Thought* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), p. 7-9.

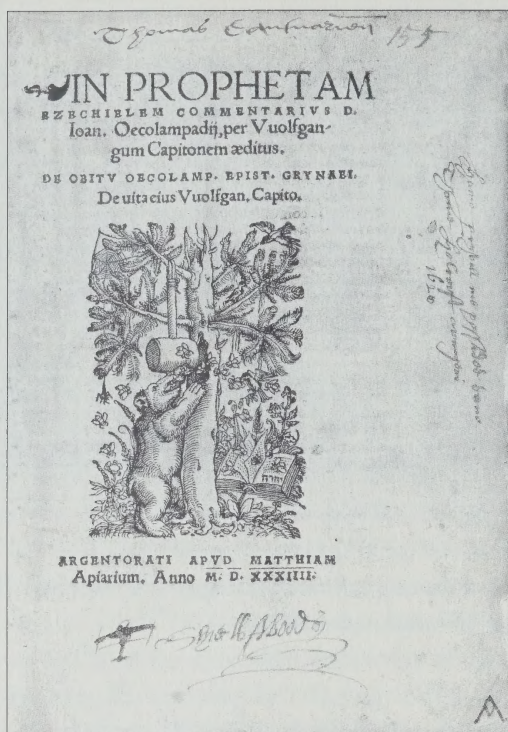
29 Kim, *op. cit.*, p. 19.



A mythical representation of the early reformers sitting at table from John Foxe's *New and Complete Book of Martyrs*. London, 1784.

It has become a truism that the Reformation could not have succeeded as thoroughly as it did had it not been for the invention of the printing press some sixty years earlier. Indeed the relationship was mutually beneficial since the phenomenon of religious reform also provided one of the greatest economic boons the literary world has ever known. Such success was brought about with the cooperation of printers – a group of sixteenth-century craftsmen and humanists whose primary concern was not so much in turning a profit as it was the dissemination of ideas.³⁰ Their names live on in the imprints to these books; but the accounts of their own erudition and scholarship often lie hidden in the more famous and accessible stories of the authors they printed.

30 *Le livre à Genève 1478-1978, op. cit.*, p. xii.



50 Johann Oecolampadius (1482-1531). *In prophetam Ezechielem commentarius*. Strasbourg: Mathias Apiarius, 1534.

Oecolampadius established the Reformation at Basel in the late 1520s. From March 1527 until the summer of the following year he delivered these lectures there on the prophet Ezekiel. Calvin himself had the highest regard for Oecolampadius's biblical exegesis, and there is some evidence that he may even have been involved in the actual editing of this text. He was most influenced, however, by Oecolampadius's Eucharistic theology which viewed the Lord's Supper principally as a memorial. Although Calvin was first exposed to the metaphorical interpretation of the Body of Christ through Luther's negative criticism of this idea, he eventually adopted a similar stance. He included numerous quotations from Oecolampadius in his *Institutes*. This particular copy of Oecolampadius's commentary was once owned by Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, whose autograph appears on the title page displayed.



- 51 **Johann Oecolampadius (1482-1531) & Huldrych Zwingli (1484-1531).** *DD. Ioannis Oecolampadii et Huldrici Zuinglii epistolarum libri quatuor.* Basel: Thomas Platter & Balthasar Lasius, 1536.

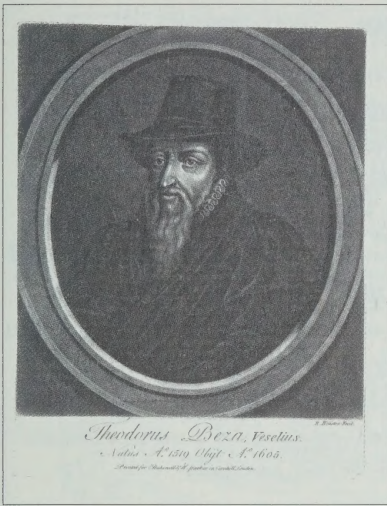
In 1519, Zwingli was appointed pastor of Zurich's Grossmünster from which place he engineered the reformation of his canton, as well as much of the German Swiss territories. Zwingli profoundly disagreed with Luther on several points of doctrine and practice, but particularly over the nature of the Eucharist. In 1524 the five cantons of Lucerne, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, and Zug formed an alliance to defend themselves against Zwingli's movement. Johann Eck, a Catholic theologian, agreed to debate him publicly at a Diet held in Baden, but disagreements over the format and location caused Zwingli to boycott the affair. In the end, the reformers were represented by Oecolampadius, who kept his friend Zwingli informed of the transactions in the correspondence collected in this volume. The Diet eventually condemned Zwingli's writings.

- 52 Nicolas des Gallars (ca. 1520-ca. 1580). *Pro G. Farello et collegis eius, adversus Petri Caroli theologastri calumnias defensio Nicolai Gallasii*. Geneva: Jean Gérard, 1545.

Des Gallars made his first appearance on the historical stage with the publication of this spirited defence of William Farel, one of the Reformers of Geneva and Berne, against the slanders of Peter Caroli, an erstwhile doctor of the University of Paris and sometime Protestant. A prominent citizen of Geneva and ardent Calvinist, des Gallars left his home in 1557 to minister to the Protestants of Paris. By 1560 he was in London organizing the French Protestant church there, though he ended his days back on the continent supervising a variety of congregations in France and Switzerland. Calvin held him in very high regard and used him on several occasions as his amanuensis. Besides this work, he wrote commentaries on Exodus and the writings of St Irenaeus, as well as edited and annotated a French edition of the Bible.

- 53 Théodore Beza (1519-1605). *De hereticis a ciuili magistratu puniendis libellus, aduersus Martini Bellii farraginem, & nouorum academicorum fectam*. Geneva: Robert Estienne, 1554.

Beza arrived in Geneva as a religious exile from Paris with his wife in 1548; shortly thereafter he took up the position of professor of Greek at Lausanne. He did not return to Geneva permanently until 1558, when he was appointed Greek instructor in the newly established Geneva Academy. His reputation as a theologian was second only to that of Calvin himself. Upon the Reformer's death in 1564, Beza was recognized as his natural successor and was duly elected moderator of the local presbytery. He is best-known today for his translation of the New Testament. In this book Beza mounts a spirited defence of Calvin's arguments for the burning of the proto-unitarian Michael Servetus, in response to Castellion's *De haereticis*, asserting that Servetus was 'of all men that have ever lived the most wicked and blasphemous,' and claimed that those who condemned his execution were 'emissaries of Satan.'



- 54 Théodore Beza (1519-1605). *De Coena Domini; plana & perspicua tractatio*. [Geneva]: Robert Estienne, 1559.

Published the year following his return to Geneva, in this work Beza defends the new reformed understanding of the Eucharist strictly as a memorial of Christ's redemptive action in the face of both Catholic and Lutheran criticisms. According to his interpretation, the presence of Christ in the sacrament is relational rather than substantial. Rejecting any traditional notion of 'true presence', he claimed at the Conference of Poissy that 'the body of Christ was as far from the bread as the highest heaven is from the earth'. While he was faithful to Calvin's theology, Beza has been criticized for introducing scholastic terminology back into the debate.

- 55 Wolfgang Musculus (1497-1563). *Common places of Christian Religion*. London: Reyner Wolfe, 1562-1563.

Musculus was one of the most important of the second-generation humanists, largely responsible for the reform of the churches of Augsburg and Berne. A correspondent of Calvin, he criticized some of his more vituperative pamphlets. Nevertheless, Calvin still commended Musculus's erudition 'because of his diligence and hard work.' He was an

avid student of the Fathers, responsible for the first appearance of Gregory Nazianzen in print; he also translated Chrysostom and Basil into Latin. Musculus was one of the signatories of the Wittenberg Concord of 1536 which attempted to resolve differences with the Lutherans over the question of the nature of the Eucharist. A popular theologian among the reformed divines of England, he was recommended to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Matthew Parker, as 'numbred among the most profoundly learned Doctors that haue written in the Church of God.' The printer of this volume, Reyner Wolfe (d. ca. 1574), was a favourite of the theologians of the newly-established English church, and was a protégé of Thomas Cranmer. In 1553, after the archbishop's arrest and trial, he arranged for the son of the disgraced prelate to be smuggled out of England to safety on the continent.

56 John Foxe (1516-1587). *Actes and Monuments*. London: John Day, 1563.

The persecution of representatives of the new reformed movement by the Roman Church is perhaps best expressed in the stories collected in this book, more commonly known as *Foxe's Book of Martyrs*. The sufferings of the various Protestants related herein only served to confirm the status of the new movement's adherents as the saints described in the Book of Revelation. Typical is this story of Bishop Edmund Bonner of London who began his ecclesiastical life as a reformer, but under Queen Mary returned to the bosom of the Roman Church. His persecution of Protestants was the stuff of which legends were made, as this illustration of him personally beating a reformer shows; indeed Bonner declared the Calvinists to be worse than pagans. When first issued, Foxe's *Martyrs* was the largest publishing endeavour ever undertaken in Britain. With its numerous editions over the centuries, it is considered one of the most important books ever to shape the Protestant identity.



Bishop Bonner beating a reformer from *Actes and Monuments*. London, 1563

57 Pietro Martire Vermigli (1499-1562). *Most Fruitfull & Learned Cōmentaries [upon the Book of Judges]*. London: John Day, 1564.

Peter Martyr Vermigli was an Italian Augustinian who had held positions of responsibility within his Order before embracing the principles of reform in 1542. He fled his native country, first to Zurich and Basel before settling at Strasbourg, where he became a professor of theology. He was invited to England by Archbishop Cranmer and was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford in 1548. His writings on the Lord's Supper appear to have affected the sacramentology of Cranmer and Ridley, and Calvin also regarded his Eucharistic doctrine with great respect. Historians have shown that he had influence over the 1552 revision of the Book of Common Prayer, and his biblical commentaries were held in high esteem by the second-generation reformers in general. The one shown here is based on lectures on the Book of Judges he delivered in Strasbourg, to which city he had returned upon the accession of Mary I. The printer, John Day (1521-1584), was one of the first evangelical craftsmen to perceive the financial opportunities associated with the accession of the young Edward VI to the throne of England in 1547, and he quickly assumed a leading role in the emerging Protestant movement. During the reign of Queen Mary, Day continued to print Protestant authors clandestinely, at great risk to his own life.

- 58 John Jewel (1522-1571). *An Apologie or Answere in Defence of the Church of Englande*. London: Reyner Wolfe, 1564.

Whether or not the sixteenth-century Church of England fell within the reformed camp continues to be a matter of some debate among modern church historians. John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, is one of those characters from Anglicanism who makes the case for including the church firmly in the Protestant column. In this book, he argues for the consistency of the reformed English Church with the Scriptures, the Church Fathers, and the ecumenical councils – but also with the new Protestant communities on the continent whom Jewel calls ‘Christians, good friendes & brethern’. Even more importantly, however, he offers the first systematic exposition or statement of faith for a reformed Church of England. In his sacramentology he clearly sympathized with Calvinist principles, and until later in life, his loyalties were with the Puritan element in the Elizabethan church. In the sixteenth century he was regarded as the model of the evangelical bishop, while his writings were deemed foundational to evangelical Anglican theology and ecclesiology.

- 59 Heinrich Bullinger (1504-1575). *A Most Excellent Sermon of the Lordes Supper, Wherein Briefely (and yet plainly yenough) is Liuely set Foorth the Matter of the Supper of the Lorde Iesus*. London: William Ponsonby, [1577?].

Bullinger’s legacy as Zwingli’s heir at Zurich has long been undervalued especially when compared with that of the first tier reformers such as Luther and Calvin. More recent research, however, is challenging that assessment. His thoughts on the relationship between the church and state, and on the nature of the Eucharist have proven to be particularly influential in the development of the reformed tradition. Together with Calvin, he concluded the *Consensus Tigurinus* in 1549 in which the Churches of Geneva and Zurich acknowledged their basic agreement on Christology and the role of sacraments, especially the symbolic memorial of the Lord’s Supper. This sermon was probably the first title printed by William Ponsonby (ca. 1546-1604), who would later become famous for his association with Spenser and the publication of *The Faerie Queen*.



R. Houston fecit.

Henricus Bullingerus
Natus A.^o 1504 Obijt. A.^o 1576.

Printed for R. Parker & E. Bakenell, in Cornhill, London.

Engraved for The Rev. D^r WRIGHT's Modernized and Improv'd



From John Foxe's *New and Complete Book of Martyrs*, London, 1784.

CASE EIGHT

Reformed Geneva as Printing Centre

The Reformation was formally adopted at Geneva in May of 1536; shortly thereafter Jean Girard, a Protestant printer from the canton of Vaud arrived in the city at the invitation of Guillaume Farel, to take up his trade there.³¹ The city quickly saw success as a printing centre, not only because it had declared early for the Reformation, but also because of its geographical situation on the trade routes between the various well-established commercial book fairs. Geneva, it could be said, sat at a crossroads which allowed for a wide exchange of goods as well as of ideas.³² The persecution and execution of dissenting printers in France – Louis de Berquin (d.1529), Antoine Augereau (d.1534), and Étienne de Dolet (d.1546)³³ to name but three – prompted others, such as Jean Michel and Michel du Bois to make their way to the canton as refugees. With the passage of the draconian Edict of Chateaubriand by the Parlement of Paris in 1551,³⁴ the exodus intensified with some of the greatest names in the printing world, such as the members of the Estienne family, heading north.

With the arrival of so many refugee artisans in Geneva, printing houses were established rapidly. Between 1550 and 1554, ten opened their doors; nine more followed in 1555; another nine between 1556-1557; a further nine between 1558 and 1560; and ten between 1561 and 1563.³⁵ Girard quickly lost his monopoly over the burgeoning reformed press to the likes of Jean Crespin, Conrad Badius, and arguably the greatest of them all, Robert Estienne. From 1523 (when he printed his first Bible) until 1559, Estienne never ceased producing editions of the Bible in the ancient languages. Indeed, it was the University of Paris's condemnation of his 1545 Hebrew Bible that actually precipitated his flight to Switzerland,³⁶ even though King Francis I begged him to stay with the assurances of his

31 Francis M. Higman, 'French-speaking regions, 1520-62', *The Reformation and the Book* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), p. 110.

32 *Le livre à Genève 1478-1978*, *op. cit.*, p. ix.

33 Hélène Cazes, 'L'intellectuel en procès: le cas Robert Estienne', *Renaissance and Reformation*, vol. 24, no. 4 (2000), p. 97.

34 Higman, *op. cit.*, p. 46; Gilmont, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

35 Higman, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

36 Cazes, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

protection. In the ten years after the passage of the Edict more than 130 printers settled in the growing city, much to the detriment of Paris's own local industry;³⁷ and with the opening of so many printing shops, it allowed for the dissemination of radical ideas, whether freely or clandestinely, into countries where the production of such texts remained illegal.³⁸

Not surprisingly, 96% of all printed materials emanating from Calvin's Geneva between 1542 and 1550 was religious in nature. Of that, 14% was the actual biblical text; 18% was exegetical; 18% was devoted to systematic theology; and 43% supported the church's pastoral efforts.³⁹ After Geneva became the unrivalled centre for Protestant printing, however, a decline in quality control became evident. Books were printed in haste, but with errors, to meet the growing demands of the reading public. Illustrations began to disappear as a cost savings measure, and not merely in response to the reformed attitude towards images; indeed scarcely a dozen illustrated books were printed there in the second half of the sixteenth century. The quality of the paper also noticeably suffered.⁴⁰

The latter part of the sixteenth century, especially after the Edict of Nantes (1598), posed new problems for the Genevan press since Protestant books could now be printed more easily in France. Geneva's near monopoly of reformed publishing came to an end, and with it a decline in demand and revenues. One of the consequences of this development was that controversial books could be produced beyond the editorial and censorial control of Calvin's successors. This meant that so-called 'Protestant books' need no longer represent the views of the pastoral council of Geneva – and there was nothing they could do about it. The Reformed movement, as a result, began to change, in large part influenced by books that were being printed far from the Protestant 'New Rome'.⁴¹ Perhaps it was for that reason, therefore, that as the books in this case demonstrate, the interests of printers at Geneva began to diversify. In the latter part of the century one was as likely to find their presses producing works of classical antiquity, medicine, science, or politics as theology.

37 Higman, *op. cit.*, p. 112-113.

38 *Le livre à Genève 1478-1978, op. cit.*, p. xi.

39 Gilmont, *Le livre réformé au xvie siècle, op. cit.*, p. 47.

40 *Le livre à Genève 1478-1978, op. cit.*, p. xi.

41 Gilmont, *Le livre réformé au xvie siècle, op. cit.*, p. 83.

THE BIBLE
AND
HOLY SCRIPTURES
CONTAINED IN
THE OLDE AND NEW
Testament.

TRANSLATED ACCOR-
ding to the Ebrue and Greke, and conferred With
the best translations in diuers langages.

WITH MOSTE PROFITABLE ANNOTA-
tions vpon all the hard places, and other things of great
importance as may appeare in the Epistle to the Reader.

ESAYE TE NOT, STAND STIL, AND BEHOLDE
the saluacion of the Lord, which he will shewe to you this day. Esay. 14. 13.



Grise are the trauels of the righteous

but the Lord hindereth them not of all. Psal. 34. 29.

THE LORD SHAL FIGHT FOR YOU: THEREFORE
bolds you your peace. Exod. 14. vers. 14.

AT GENEVA.
PRINTED BY ROLAND HALL.
M. D. L X.

60 The Geneva Bible. Geneva: Printed by Roland Hall, 1560.

The Geneva Bible was the first English Bible printed in roman type. It was translated by a small group of Marian exiles living in Geneva, operating under the direction of William Whittingham (d. 1579). It is noteworthy for being the first Bible to feature chapter and verse divisions, chapter headings, as well as running titles. In short, it is this

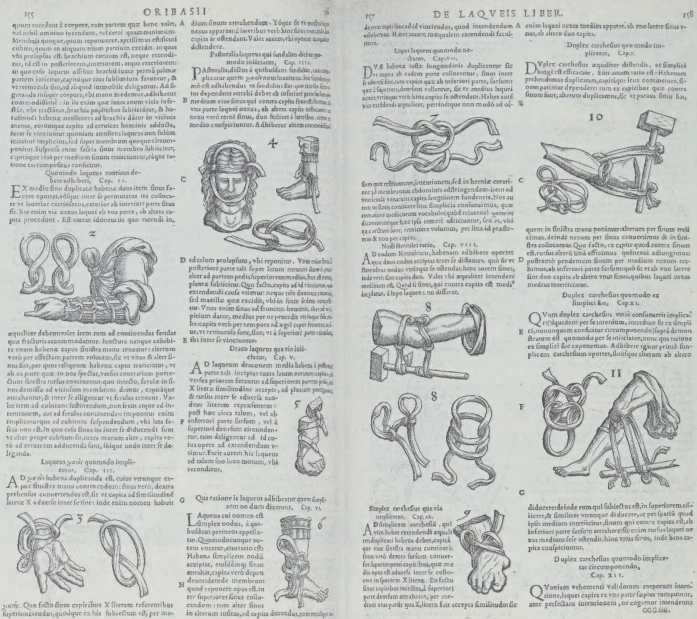
format of the Bible that establishes what the Scriptures would look like in the English-speaking world. Its marginal arguments and explanatory notes were distinctly Calvinistic in tone, thereby endearing it especially to the Puritans, but eventually setting it at odds with King James I. For three generations it maintained its supremacy as the Bible of the people with at least one hundred and forty editions appearing between 1560 and 1644; indeed, about a half a million Geneva Bibles were printed and sold between 1560 and 1620 alone. An examination of the King James' Bible of 1611 shows that its translators were influenced more by the Geneva than by any other English version. The printer, Roland Hall, was a Marian exile who, upon his return to England, continued to decorate his works with the Genevan escutcheon.

- 61 Sextus Empiricus (fl. 2nd cent.). *Sexti Philosophi pyrrhonianarum hypotyposeon libri III*. [Geneva]: Henri Estienne, 1562.

As a result of the Reformation, Geneva became an important centre for printing, not only of religious tracts, but also of philosophical and scientific texts. The city quickly came to rival the printing capitals of Strasbourg and Lyon with an output equal to theirs. This book was Henri Estienne's own translation of Sextus Empiricus's original Greek text, and marks the first appearance of that author in print. Its importance is not to be underestimated since it was this very edition which introduced scepticism into French thought. Indeed, Montaigne used the formulas found in this very volume to adorn the joints and rafters of his library near Bordeaux.

- 62 Herodotus (fl. 5th cent. BCE). *Herodoti Halicarnassei historiae lib[ri] IX, & De vita Homeri libellus*. [Geneva]: Henri Estienne, 1566.

Estienne published this Latin edition of Herodotus together with his own 'Apologia pro Herodoto', certainly the printer's most famous personal essay. Ostensibly designed to show how the strange stories in Herodotus are paralleled by equally strange ones in modern times, it is at times a bitterly satirical depiction of his own age. Some passages were so



gious refugees from France and Italy in the mid-16th century, an all-inclusive book such as this one served the Council's standardizing designs well. Displayed are the writings of Oribasius (320-400), illustrated with fifty-three woodcuts, based on those in Gesner's *Chirurgia* (Zurich, 1555) depicting surgical instruments, methods of applying bandages, contraptions invented to cure dislocations, and wounds caused by military weapons.

64 François Hotman (1524-1590). *Francogallia*. Geneva: Jacques Stoer, 1573.

Francogallia was written in the 1560s by a French Huguenot lawyer, François Hotman. It was not published until 1573, however – the year after the infamous St Bartholomew's Day Massacre. In it he proposed an idealistic Frankish constitution in which the French monarch would be elected by the people and would govern only with their consent. Even more controversially, he justified armed resistance to royal tyranny,

especially as evident in the persecution of the Huguenots. To support his theories, Hotman would be able to point to Bucer, Beza, and several Calvinist authors who wrote treatises defending political resistance, culminating in *Vindiciae contra tyrannos* published at Basel in 1579 and attributed variously to Philippe de Mornay (1549-1623), Beza, Hubert Languet (1518-1581), and Hotman himself. The radical ideas contained in both of these books helped to associate the reformed movement with treason in the popular mind in many jurisdictions. The printer, Jacques Stoer (1540?-1610) hailed from Otlingen near Strasbourg, and was only seventeen years old when he arrived in Geneva where he began his work in the printing shop of Jean Crespin and in the House of Rivery. He was active in the city between 1568 and 1610.

- 65** Guillaume de Salluste du Bartas (1544-1590). *La sepmaine*. Geneva: Jehan Durant, 1581.

Du Bartas was a Huguenot who had served as a soldier, diplomat at the Court of James VI of Scotland, and gentleman of the bedchamber to King Henry IV (1553-1610) of France. He is best remembered, however, for this epic poem which relates the creation of the world and the history of humanity from a Protestant point of view. It was immensely popular in its day and was translated into Latin, Italian, German, and English. When James VI became king of England he brought his passion for du Barras south with him. He particularly admired the poet's style, and not only translated his works himself, but encouraged others to do the same. As a result du Bartas was imitated throughout the Stuart era, most notably influencing the creation of Milton's *Paradise Lost*.

- 66** Michel Varro (1546-1586). *De motu tractatus*. Geneva: Jacques Stoer, 1584.

Michel Varro was a citizen of Geneva and amateur scientist who, in this treatise, erroneously posited that falling speeds are proportional to the distances fallen from their point of rest; he did, however, rightly deduce the properties of the wedge and screw which Galileo would later



Docuimus quis sit simplicis vectis effectus, simplex autem vectis semicirculi conuersione suam operationem absouit, ita vt si vltcrius F moueatur in alio semicirculo motus prioribus contrarios cieat: vt exempli gratia, sit vectis A B, cuius hypomochlium sit c, dum A punctum describet semicirculum A F D, motus ille deorsum erit: interea verò B punctum describet semicirculum B G E ascendendo: si verò A transcendat, D incipiet ascendere: B verò transcendens, E descēdet: ideo excogitata est vectis ratio perpetua ex plurium vectium successione circa idem hypomochlium: est autem illa tum in ergatis aut fuculis, tum in duorum tympanorum homocentricorum, seu eadem axe transfixorum in planis parallelis aptatione, quorum semidiametri sint in eadem proportionē quæ in vecte ad propositum motum ciendum necessaria est: centrum verò eorum seu axis fixa sit, ac ita vires aptentur, vt maior minorem, minor verò maiorem tympanum impellat. Quemadmodum autem horum tympanorum homocentricorum opera vectis perpetui ratio inuēta est, ita eorum multiplicatione motus, & mouentis & mouēdi, proportio in infinitum augeri potest. Cuius rei maximus

confirm. Between 1542 and 1550, ninety-six per cent of all printing in Geneva was religious in nature. As the century progressed, more and more books of a juridical and scientific nature, like this one, came to be produced there, often the fruits of religious refugees from France and Italy. While the printer, Jacques Stoer had begun his career in the 1570s producing anti-royal texts like *Francogallia*, by the end of the century he had gained respect for his scientific works.

- 67 Jacques Besson (1540-1576). *Theatre des instrumens mathematiques et mechaniques*. Geneva: Jacques Chouët & Jean de Laon, 1594.

Besson's 'Theatre of machines' represents a whole new genre of literature that emerged at the end of the sixteenth century. Books like this one applied mathematical principles to the development of new machinery, another intellectual innovation of the Renaissance. The resulting technical achievements were considered appropriate subjects of interest for monarchs and the nobility, and not just for artisans. Besson settled for a time in Geneva, before becoming a reformed pastor in Villeneuve-de-Berg, France. He wrote this super-illustrated book after retiring from the ministry when he resumed his work as a professor of mathematics. The printer, Jean de Laon, was a native of Picardy who had taken refuge in Geneva in 1553, establishing a printing house and foundry there.

- 68 Ambrosius Macrobius (fl. 5th cent.). *In somnium Scipionis, lib. II*. Geneva: Jacques Stoer, 1597.

Macrobius, a late fifth-century Roman philosopher, is perhaps best known today for proposing a spherical earth with northern and southern hemispheres divided by an equatorial ocean, as depicted here in this book printed by Jacques Stoer. Macrobius' map, which was first published in Venice in 1560, was the first to denote ocean currents as well as 'frigid' and 'temperate' zones. He derived his revolutionary ideas from the second-century theories of Crates of Mallus. Besides reproducing the classic works of Greek and Roman authors, Stoer excelled at printing bilingual and vernacular versions of the Bible, dictionaries, legal texts, books of Calvinist spirituality, and scholarly manuals.

Calvin's Legacy

Although the church at Geneva attempted to maintain a rigid orthodoxy throughout the reformed world after Calvin's death in 1564, that task became increasingly difficult, largely owing to the ability to print Protestant texts farther and farther away from the control of the city's pastoral council. As a result, these new, 'foreign' publications often took on a more political and less theological tone.⁴² French, Dutch, English, Scottish, Italian, and even German Protestants began to reshape the reformed experience using Calvin's doctrines as the firm foundation, but reflecting the realities of their own cultures. It was an evolution that was not without tension, particularly evident in the Netherlands and England. Nevertheless, a distinct reformed tradition would emerge, differing from the contemporary Lutheran and Anglican experiments.

No German city adopted Calvinism during the reformer's own lifetime, and relations with Lutheran theologians and princes were consistently tense throughout the sixteenth century.⁴³ This situation was likely exacerbated by the Treaty of Augsburg (1555) which settled the territorial claims of Lutherans and Catholics within the Empire but did not take into account any rights of Calvinists living there. The exception to this situation was to be found in the Lower Palatinate where the Elector Frederick III (1515-1576) ordered the composition of the Calvinist Heidelberg Catechism (1563) and embraced the reformed liturgy,⁴⁴ helping to usher in what has come to be known as the 'Second Reformation'. During his reign Calvinism spread northwards into the Rhineland and Westphalia, and was adopted in the early 1570s in Nassau, the home of the House of Orange.⁴⁵ While these gains continued within the Empire into the first quarter of the seventeenth century, relations with members of the Lutheran Church remained strained. Indeed the acrimony that often existed among German-speaking Protestants of all stripes helped in the restoration of Roman Catholicism in some areas.⁴⁶

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 84.

⁴³ John T. McNeill, *The History and Character of Calvinism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 268.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 272.

⁴⁵ J.H. Elliott, *Europe Divided: 1559-1598* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), p. 166.

⁴⁶ Geoffrey Parker, *Europe in Crisis: 1598-1648* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), p. 38-39.

There is clear evidence that reformed doctrine had begun to take root in Normandy long before Calvin's death. By the 1540s, it was certainly possible to obtain his books fairly easily there. Decades of persecution would follow, and so a flourishing, self-sufficient Calvinist movement did not even begin to appear in France until Calvin's declining years, by which time it had assumed a form that he would not have enthusiastically approved. Whereas the reformer had largely advocated resignation and patience in adversity, the Huguenots were intent on confrontation with the established Catholic order.⁴⁷ In spite of official prohibitions, most notably in the Edict of Chateaubriand, they began to reopen printing houses in the 1560s and 70s in Lyon, Caen, Rouen, Saint-Lô, Orléans and even Paris, though printers had to be very discreet in their activities. The years from 1560-1565 were particularly fruitful ones with some eleven hundred editions of reformed texts appearing in France, accounting for about a third of all French Protestant book production during that period.⁴⁸ The reformed tradition survived the St Bartholomew's Day massacre of August 1572 when some 70,000 Huguenots were slaughtered; their heirs took up arms the following year and slowly concessions were granted by the Crown ensuring the survival of the Protestant cause, while political expediency led to the passage of the Edict of Nantes in 1598, granting some level of tolerance for those professing the 'allegedly reformed religion' in France.⁴⁹

A similar combative style could be found in Scottish Calvinism, especially under the auspices of John Knox who returned to his homeland in 1559. Knox posed a problem for Calvin, who had not only been his pastor during his sojourn in Geneva, but was also his friend. After Elizabeth I acceded to the English throne in 1558, Calvin wrote to the new queen, encouraging her to continue the reforming trends of her late brother, Edward VI, even going so far as dedicating his commentary on the prophet Isaiah to her. Though a committed Protestant, Elizabeth rejected Calvin's advances because of Knox's recent Genevan publication entitled *First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*. Rightly or wrongly, Elizabeth came to associate Calvin's name with this vituperative treatise and its opinions against female rulers.⁵⁰

47 Pettegree, *op. cit.*, p. 45 & 67.

48 Gilmont, *Le livre réformé au xvie siècle*, *op. cit.*, p. 84-85.

49 McNeill, *op. cit.*, p. 248-250.

50 *Ibid.*, p. 281.

Nevertheless, Elizabeth's religious settlement would significantly harmonize with Calvin's theology, while not incorporating all of its elements. As the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion agreed upon by the bishops of England in 1562 demonstrate, Calvinist sentiment was strong in the kingdom. Not surprisingly, this sympathy significantly expanded with the return of the Marian exiles. The publication of reformed texts within the realm exploded with the production of some eighty-eight different editions of Calvin's books, including twenty-eight editions of the *Catechism* alone before 1603.⁵¹ In fact, the ninety-one known English editions of Calvin published from the reign of Henry VIII until the death of Elizabeth I surpass all of the other European-language translations combined.⁵² Although Anglicanism would embrace much of Calvin's doctrine, it would reject the congregationalism and bare ritual of Geneva, making it something of an anomaly within the broader reforming movements of the day.

Since Calvin himself eschewed the establishment of any kind of a test to determine what constituted the true visible church on earth (beyond the preaching of the Word and the celebration of the two dominical sacraments), it is possible to see that Anglican idiosyncrasies were in fact not really so different from those found in the French, Dutch, or Scottish versions of Protestantism. None of these reformed movements would have passed the strictest interpretation of Genevan orthodoxy.⁵³

Calvin had his admirers in the Netherlands as early as the 1540s, and it was to the ministers of East Friesland that he dedicated his Latin catechism of 1545.⁵⁴ In spite of attempts by Philip II of Spain (who reigned over the Netherlands) to control Calvinism, the movement slowly spread; indeed, William of Orange (1533-1584) saw in it the opportunity to 'drive the Spanish vermin from the land', which he successfully achieved for the northern provinces in 1572.⁵⁵ Though William himself converted to Calvinism the following year, his fellow citizens were not as quick to abandon the old religion. Indeed, it would take another forty

51 John N. King & Mark Rankin, 'Print, Patronage, and the Reception of Continental Reform: 1521-1603', *The Yearbook of English Studies* (2008), p. 51.

52 Francis M. Higman, 'Calvin's Works in Translation', *Calvinism in Europe, 1540-1620* (Cambridge: University Press, 1994), p. 87.

53 Pettegree, *op. cit.*, p. 276-277.

54 McNeill, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

55 *Ibid.*, p. 260.

years of intensive missionary activity and the immigration of numerous Calvinists from other areas before half of the populations of Holland and Zealand would embrace the reformed faith.⁵⁶ Even afterwards, unity within the Dutch Protestant tradition was difficult to maintain when large segments of the faithful, for example, rejected the stern doctrine of predestination attributed to Calvin, and instead followed the teachings of Jacob Arminius (1560-1609). Reformed in character, his movement certainly broadened the definition of a Calvinist.

It should be recalled that, unlike Catholicism, Lutheranism, and Anglicanism, there was little uniformity of liturgical style within Calvinism. Certain consistent features could be found in most Protestant congregations including the reading of Scripture, the singing of Psalms, and the preaching of extended sermons. Beyond that, however, individual communities determined the shape of worship, as the service books in these cases indicate. The Psalters are worthy of particular attention because of the complications involved in their production. Each one included musical notation requiring specially cut type, and great care in their alignment on the page. The future of modern musical production was in no small way owing to the efforts invested by the printers of these early Protestant hymnals.⁵⁷

While the sheer number of Calvin's texts in circulation ensured the survival of his thought and the enshrinement of his memory, the evolution of his original doctrine was inevitable. Not long after Calvin's death, the reformed tradition witnessed the rise of a Protestant form of scholasticism, largely influenced by Italian reformers like Peter Martyr. This movement, which dominated Protestantism into the eighteenth century, was characterized by a very dry, sterile, and rigid rationalism focusing on Aristotelian logic and ethics. In a strange twist of history, it is this scholastic re-assertion that becomes the hallmark of Calvinist educational theory in Geneva, Zurich, Lausanne, Oxford, Cambridge, and Harvard well into the eighteenth century. Unlike its Catholic counterpart, however, the Calvinists remained hostile to the mediaeval, and sought to return to the original Greek sources, avoiding later Latin corruptions.⁵⁸

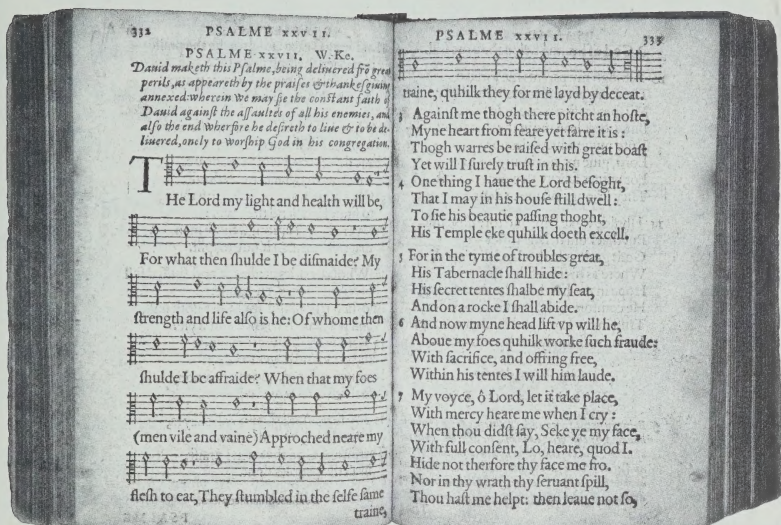
⁵⁶ Elliott, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

⁵⁷ Pettegree, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

⁵⁸ John Patrick Donnelly, 'Italian Influences on the Development of Calvinist Scholasticism', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (Apr., 1976), p. 82-84.

- 69 John Knox (ca. 1514-1572). *An Answer to a Great Number of Blasphemous Cauillations written by an Anabaptist, and Aduersarie to Gods eternal Predestination, and confuted by Iohn Knox*. [Geneva]: Jean Crespin, 1560.

In 1558 John Knox was still living in exile and studying in Geneva. It was around that time that he was asked by some English Protestants to reply to an Anabaptist book entitled *Careless by Necessity* in which the author explicitly denied the doctrine of predestination. This book was the result and represents the longest of all of Knox's writings. Permission was granted for its publication in Geneva on 13 November 1559, six months after Knox returned to Scotland. Commonly referred to as *On Predestination*, the diatribe is classically Calvinist in its composition – indeed, some have described it as hyper-Calvinist. His doctrine, however, should be understood within the context of his historical circumstances, since Knox tended to emphasize predestination (as well as the 'small-flock' concept of the church) during times of struggle, prior to the establishment of the Reformation in Scotland which occurred in the year of this book's publication.



70 *The CL. Psalmes of David in Meter for the Use of the Kirk of Scotland.* Middelburgh: Richard Schilders, 1594.

The printer Richard Schilders was a Calvinist refugee from Enghem who had lived for a while in England before returning to his native Netherlands. He settled at Middelburg in Zeeland, a place of no little importance for English Puritans in the Elizabethan period since many of the books he printed for them there were still illegal across the channel. He printed for numerous Puritan divines including the Brownists and the ministers of the Merchant Adventurers' Church, but his most important efforts were reserved for the three printings of the Puritan worship book, *The Booke of the Forme of Common Prayers*. This particular volume of the Psalms for singing in the Church of Scotland (first published in 1564) includes Calvin's *Catechisme or Maner to Teach Children the Christian Religion*.

- 71 William Perkins (1558-1602). *A Case of Conscience, the Greatest that Ever Was; How a Man may Know Whether He be the Child of God or No*. London: Printed by the Widowe Orwin for T. Man and I. Porter, 1597.

William Perkins was a Cambridge divine and represented the moderate wing of the Puritan movement in Elizabethan England. Theologically, he was sympathetic to the teachings of Théodore Beza and the other continental Calvinists. Largely forgotten today, during his lifetime he outsold Calvin in the English-speaking world; his works also enjoyed popularity in Dutch, German, and Latin. This short book, in the form of a dialogue between the Church and St John, proved to be one of his most popular as it struggled with the ultimate question of conscience – whether or not people could know with certainty that they were saved. This preoccupation naturally flowed from the doctrine of double predestination – that some are created for salvation and others for damnation – which Perkins helped to introduce into England when he published the first English translation of Beza's chart on the subject.

- 72 David Paraeus (1548-1622). *Miscellanea catechetica*. Neustadt-in-Palatine: Widow of William Harnisch, 1598.

Under the Elector Frederick III, Calvinism found a foothold in the Lower Palatinate. His son, Louis (1539-1583), however, was a committed Lutheran who attempted to exterminate the movement upon his accession in 1576. When Louis died in 1583, his brother Johann Casimir, an ardent Calvinist, succeeded and replaced the Lutheran professors from the university with Calvinists, thereby establishing Heidelberg and Neustadt, where this book was printed, as German centres for reformed study. David Paraeus, the author of this text, was a scripture scholar considered by many to be the gem of the Palatinate church. He attracted students from all across Europe to his lectures, and in this book summarizes the essentials of the reformed faith based on the teachings of the *Heidelberg Catechism* as drafted by his mentor Zacharias Ursinus (1534-1583), an early German Calvinist.

PSEAUME XCIII.

Ayant le monde appuyé tellement Qu'il
ne peut être ébranlé nullement.

2. ¶ Ferme des lors ton saint trône a été,
O Dieu, qui es de route éternité, Le fon-
est grand d'un fleuve impétueux, Grand
est le fon des flots, tempéreux.

3. ¶ Mais quoi que soit l'Océan courroucé,
Et le bruit grand de son flot entasse: Le
Souverain étant assis es cieus fist bien plus
grand & redoutable qu'eux.

4. ¶ O Eternel, fidèles & certains Sont tes
édits & témoignages saints, Suivant les-
quels.

PSEAUME XCIV.

quels en tout tems & saison Ta Sainteté
ornera ta maison.

PSEAUME XCIV. T. D. B.

O Eternel Dieu des vengeances, O
Dieu punisseur des offenses, Fais toi con-
noître clairement, Toi gouverneur de
l'univers, Haïsse-toi pour rendre aux per-
vers De leur orgueil le payement.

2. ¶ Jusqu'à quand des méchans la bande,
Jusqu'à quand en fierté si grande, Seigneur,
les malins se riront? Ceux qui à mal pren-
nent plaisir, De gaudir auront le loisir,
Et bravement se vanteront?

3. ¶ O

73 Clément Marot (1495?-1544). *Les pseauxmes de David: mis en rime française*. [Switzerland? 16—?].

The poet Clément Marot began his French translation of the first thirty Psalms while living in Paris. It was a project destined to be a great favourite with the Huguenots especially after his poetry was set to music by Goudimel (d. 1572) and Claude le Jeune (d. 1600). Initially favourites of François I, Henri II, and Catherine de Medici, the doctors of the Paris Faculty of Theology were less enthusiastic because of the popularity of the paraphrases among Protestants at home and abroad. The Faculty condemned the text in 1545, forcing Marot to flee to Geneva where he continued his labours. In 1538 Calvin began the process of publishing liturgical books in Strasbourg – a liturgy based on Psalm-singing. The first volume appeared in 1539 containing thirteen translations by Marot and another three by Calvin himself. Although Calvin's translations eventually disappeared from the books, Marot's were reproduced in numerous editions over the centuries, and continue to be popular with French Protestant congregations throughout the world.

- 74 Synod of Dort (1618-1619). *Acta Synod[i] nationa[li]s in nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi, auctoritate illustr. et praepotentum DD. Ordinum generalium foederati Belgii provinciarum, Dordrecht habitae anno MDCXVIII et MDCXIX*. Leiden: Jean Elzevir, 1620.

The Synod of Dort was an assembly of the Reformed Church held in the city of Dordrecht from 13 November 1618 until 9 May 1619. Its aim, summarized in these Acts, was to reply to the objections of the Arminian (or Remonstrant) branch of the church that had come to disagree with mainstream Calvinism particularly over the doctrines of atonement, predestination, and election. No Arminians were invited to the Synod, the result of which was that their doctrines were condemned and sympathizers removed from ecclesiastical and public office. In 1630 Arminianism was recognized and tolerated as a separate religion by the Dutch Estates, and its doctrines survive in such Protestant movements as the English General Baptists, Methodism, the Disciples of Christ, and Pentecostalism to name but a few groups.

- 75 Church of England. *Articles agreed upon by the Arch-bishops and Bishops of both Provinces, and the Whole Clergie, in the Convocation holden at London, in the Yeer 1562, for the Avoiding of Diversities of Opinions, and for the Stablishing of Consent touching True Religion*. London: Robert Barker, 1638.

Whether or not the Church of England is a truly 'reformed' communion is a question that has bedeviled theologians and church historians for several hundred years. For those who claim that it is, their primary evidence is the *Articles of Religion*, with its decidedly Calvinist slant on such contentious issues as justification by faith alone, the rejection of Purgatory, the assertion of only two dominical Sacraments, and especially the doctrine of predestination, which is presented in a somewhat more moderate tone than would be found in contemporary continental documents. Indeed, King James I expressed the hope that predestination be 'very tenderly handled with great discretion, lest on the one side God's omnipotency might be called in question ... or on the other a desperate presumption might be arreared by inferring the necessary certainty of

Articles of Religion.

Of Predestination and Election.

Predestination to life is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby (before the foundations of the world were laid) he hath constantly decreed by his counsell, secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation, those whom he hath chosen in Christ out of mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation, as vessels made to honour. Wherefore they which be indured with to excellent a benefit of God, be called according to Gods purpose by his Spirit working in due season: they through grace obey the calling: they be justified freely: they be made sonnes of God by adoption: they be made like the Image of his onely begotten Sonne Iesus Christ: they walk religiously in good works, and at length by Gods mercy they attain to everlasting felicitie.

As the godly consideration of Predestination and our Election in Christ, is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons, and such as feel in themselves the working of the Spirit of Christ, mortifying the works of the flesh, and their earthly members, and drawing up their minde to high and heavenly things, as wel because it doeth greatly establish and confirme their faith of eternal salvation, to be enjoyed through Christ, as because it doeth fervently kindle their love to wards God: So, for curious and carnall persons, lacking the Spirit of Christ, to have continually before their eyes the sentence of Gods predestination, is a most dangerous downfall, whereby the devil

doeth

Articles of Religion.

doeth thrust them either into desperation, or into wretchednesse of most unclean living, no lesse perillous then desperation.

Furthermore, we must receive Gods promises, in such wise as they be generally set forth to us in holy Scripture: and in our doings, that will of God is to be followed, which we have expressly declared unto us in the word of God.

18.

Of obtaining eternall Salvation only by the Name of Christ.

They also are to be had accursed, that presume to say, that every man shall be saved by the law or sect, which he professeth, to that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law, and the light of nature. For holy Scripture doth set out unto us only the Name of Iesus Christ, whereby men must be saved.

19.

Of the Church.

The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministered, according to Christs ordinance, in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.

As the Church of Hierusalem, Alexandria, and Antioch have erred: So also the Church of Rome hath erred, not only in their living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith,

C 2.

Of

standing and persisting in grace'. By the mid-seventeenth century some Anglican clergymen and scholars like John Plaifere and Samuel Hoard, were challenging the Calvinist interpretation of Anglican doctrine, while John Henry Newman (1801-1890), in his famous Tract 90, recognized the difficulty the Articles presented to those who wished to re-emphasize the Catholic nature of Anglicanism. 'It is a duty which we owe both to the Catholic Church and to our own', he wrote, 'to take our reformed confessions in the most Catholic sense they will admit; we have no duties toward their framers'.

76 Lectures in Aristotelian Philosophy. [Oxford?], 1652-1653.

These lecture notes, taken in a fine English hand, begin in December 1652 and conclude in May of the following year. They correspond with the Aristotelian handbook prepared by Franco Burgersdijk (1590-1635), the last great Calvinist scholastic philosopher produced by the Netherlands. From 1616 to 1619 he served as professor of philosophy at the Protestant academy at Saumur. The rest of his career was spent at the University of Leiden where he taught logic and ethics, eventually

becoming rector. His appointment at Leiden was in large part owing to the political and religious victory of the House of Orange over the Dutch oligarchs, who were essentially Arminian. Burgersdijk wrote elementary textbooks in his areas of specialization that became mainstays of the curriculum, not only in the Netherlands, but also in Britain and America well into the eighteenth century. In many ways, his method anticipated that of Descartes, though his version of Protestant scholasticism did not always complement Calvinist doctrine. As a result, some of his successors felt compelled to alter his writings to bring them into line with Protestant orthodoxy. At the same time, other nineteenth-century scholars felt that his continued presence on the curriculum at all was symptomatic of the hostile environment with which modernity was still being greeted in much of the academic community.

77 *La Bible, qui est toute la Sainte Esriture du Vieil et du Nouveau Testament*. London: Robert Everingham, 1686-87.

This French translation of the Geneva Bible (omitting the marginal notes) was the first complete French copy of the Scriptures printed in England. It is probably not coincidental that it was published scarcely a year after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, which had originally granted freedom of worship to the French Calvinists in 1598. In the wake of its rescindment, many Huguenots fled to Britain, Prussia, the Netherlands, and Switzerland. Like Tyndale's banned English Bible of 1534, its diminutive size allowed it to be successfully concealed from hostile eyes. The printer, Robert Everingham, would also be responsible for the first complete Bible to appear in Irish in 1690.

78 John Bunyan (1628-1688). *The Doctrine of the Law and Grace Unfolded*. London: N. Ponder, 1685.

Bunyan was probably first exposed to Calvinist doctrine as a member of the New Model Army in which he enlisted in 1644 when he was about sixteen years old. This book is the expression of that faith, in particular his firm confidence in covenant theology. In fact, his thoughts here reveal that he was actually a rather strict Calvinist, especially with his emphasis

on the promissory nature of the covenant of grace in contradistinction to the Arminian accent on human responsibility within the covenant. Bunyan, however, also looks to Luther's Commentary on Galatians for his inspiration, specifically in his consideration of the dichotomy between law and grace. Because of his rejection of theological legalism Richard Baxter accused Bunyan of antinomianism, a charge which does not hold within the context of all of his other written works.

- 79 *La liturgie, ou La maniere de celebrer le service divin qui est établie dans les eglises de la principauté de Neufchatel & Vallangin.* Neuchâtel: Jonas Galandres, 1737.

Jean Frédéric Ostervald (1663-1747) was pastor of the reformed church at Neuchâtel as well as lecturer in the Academy of Theology. This book, first published under his supervision at Basel in 1713, was one of the most popular Protestant liturgical texts to emerge from the eighteenth century, and confirmed Ostervald's reputation as an innovator, emphasizing the singing of hymns and Bible reading over lengthy homilies during divine service. It proposes a daily lectionary for the seasons of the church year together with collects and prayers, as well as orders of service for baptism, communion, marriage, and public penitence. So admired was the book that by the middle of the eighteenth century it was adopted by many of the Huguenots living in the American colonies. It was well-known throughout the English-speaking world owing to its distribution by the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge, together with his version of the catechism.

- 80 Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758). *The Distinguishing Marks of a Work of the Spirit of God.* London: Printed by Henry Cock, 1755.

Edwards, a deeply committed Calvinist, was the greatest American Congregationalist theologian of the pre-Revolutionary period. It was his emphasis on the necessity of an immediate and personal encounter with the divine that led to the First Great Awakening in the British colonies. This revivalist movement, however, caused division among Calvinists, especially at Yale, many of whom were suspicious of the emotional

displays associated with the revival meetings themselves. This book attempts to mediate between the opposing forces, admitting that while some ecstatic behaviours were not legitimate marks of the Spirit, others were. In developing his thesis, Edwards owes a debt, not only to Calvin, but also to John Locke from whom he borrowed the distinction between the imagination and the ineffable. Indeed, it may be argued that it is this philosophical distinction that forms the true basis of the text.

81 Dutch Reformed Church. *Het Boek der Psalmen*. Haarlem: J. Enschede, 1787.

This book of metrical Psalms, in the translation approved by the Estates General of the Netherlands in 1773, includes twelve additional canticles (including the Benedictus, Magnificat, Nunc dimittis, Ten Commandments, and the Apostles' Creed) and was intended to be used in the divine service of the Dutch Reformed Church. From about the middle of the previous century, there had been a concerted effort on the part of the Church to improve the quality of Psalm-singing, which formed such a central part of reformed worship. To further that end, Amsterdam musician and publisher Cornelis de Leeuw (ca. 1613 – ca. 1661) devised the method of musical notation displayed here which remained in continuous use in Protestant liturgical books until the nineteenth century. De Leeuw transposed all of the old Psalm tunes into the alto clef, declaring it the most suitable for congregational singing, as can be seen here in Psalms 116-118.

13 Waarom hebt Gij sin' nuur verhooren?
 8 Waarom hebt Gij sin' nuur verhooren?
 Dem wat u' zoog en hulp verhooren? Men
 plukte / men trapt hem met den doer: Het
 bofchsluijn heeft hem omgevoer: Het loof
 dedert hem afgeweld / Daar 't zich dooz'
 ganfche land verzeft.
 9 Heer wees / o God der legermagten / Lor
 ons / die op u' gheland waertien: Die uit
 den hoogen hemel neer: Herdel u' kijnfch
 als wees: Den ftam / ter hief' alus Zoons
 geplant / Dien Gij geftecht hebt dooz u' hand.
 10 H' ligt verband en afgehouwen. Als Gij
 verwoest / Die zat bin houwen! U' hand is
 ober 's menschen Zoon / Dien 's El gesterke
 hebt tot den troon: Zoo lechen wij / dooz
 U bezyh / Wees aan u' dienft gewy.
 11 Behoud ons / Wees der legermagten:
 Zoo zullen w' ons dooz afval waertien: Zoo
 knelen w' altoos dooz U neer. Getrouwe ver-
 der / Brey ons wees: Verles ons / toon ons
 't lieffelyk licht Van u' vertroostend aangezicht.
 12 O God der heere / Ghyt ons wees: Laet u'
 aenichghen lichtren / so zullen wy verlost woen.

DE LXXXI. PSALM.

Psalm 81.

Zing nu bij te moe 't Maagtig Opperte-
 zen Eeren lofsang toe: Om ons heiligenot
 Worde lofsang God. Het geestelich geprezen.
 2 Zingt een' psalm / en greef Trommels van de
 reien: Wat in lofsang hoer' zint grootheid uit
 Harp en zachte lute. Moer' zint roem verhefen.
 3 't H' is basungelich belink' in lofsang ooren /
 Doe nu overal Deze maar verhaan: 't heeft
 „der nieuwe maan / 't feestuur is geboren.”
 4 Want dit is 't bevel Van den Heer der heeren
 Aan zyn lofsang: Dit is 't lofsang gebod / 't wees
 van Iahob's God / Dat luyt Glijfich eeren.
 5 Dit doet lofsang zaad Aan Gijppen denken /
 En in welk een' staat / Daar 't een' spraake bond
 Die het niet verstonde / God zyn heft loon sekenhen.

1. PAUZE.

6 't Heb hynn' hals gebeyd Van den last te draa-
 gen: 't Was die blyde tyd / Toen hun morde hand
 Weer in 's v'hand's land Van den pot ontslagen.
 7 Op u' noodn'ekhel Deed ik groote wonderen.
 Onder mijn geest Dond'ghy hulp / myn loof
 Weer

1. Dooz den
 Opperte-
 mester / op
 de Glijfich
 een Psalm
 Maagtig
 2. Zing
 3. Zing
 4. Want
 5. Dit
 6. 't Heb
 7. Op
 8. Onder
 9. Weer

OPPOSITION AND TRANSFORMATION

Opposition to Calvin and his reforms arose swiftly, both within and outside of Geneva. Within the city that Calvin came to adopt as his home, there was early resistance to the organizational structure that the reformer wished to impose on its municipal government, resulting in his exile to Strasbourg from 1538 to 1541.⁵⁹ The greater hostility, however, came, not surprisingly, from the forces of the Roman church in the days leading up to the convocation of the Council of Trent in 1545. Among those who led the charge against Calvin and his revolutionary ideas was the formidable Jacopo Sadoletto, an articulate humanist and scholar in his own right.

Although Sadoletto, the bishop of Carpentras and sometime papal secretary, contested the reforms of the Genevan church, he was in many ways a most amiable opponent. A fervent humanist, he had already responded to the crisis of Christian disunity by unsuccessfully attempting to cultivate the friendship of men like Melancthon and Bucer. When all else failed, he resorted to the reassertion of the central authority and traditions of Rome as he did in his 1539 letter to the Little Council of Geneva which some have claimed is really the first salvo in the battle of the Counter Reformation.⁶⁰ Calvin's lengthy reply to Sadoletto remains one of the best summaries of the Protestant cause that exists. Tensions between the Catholic and Reformed camps, of course, would only increase throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and Calvin's name would appear prominently among the *prima classis* heretics whose books were banned by the first Roman *Index librorum prohibitorum* of Pope Paul IV (1557).

Even among the disciples of Calvin themselves, dissenters would appear from time to time who disagreed with one or other aspect of what they understood to be his doctrine. The most prominent of these was Jacobus Arminius, a second-generation Calvinist professor from Leyden who led a group of liberal Protestants to a new understanding of the principles of predestination which, by the end of the sixteenth century, had become canonized as one of the fundamental pillars of the reformed movement. Calvin's successors at Geneva appear to have placed greater

59 Owen Chadwick, *The Reformation* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984), p. 83.

60 John C. Olin, *John Calvin & Jacopo Sadoletto: A Reformation Debate* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1982), p. 11-12.

emphasis on this particular teaching than Calvin himself did, but dissent from their position came to be viewed as heretical within the Protestant communities in the Netherlands and much of Britain.

Among the more famous of Arminius's theological heirs was John Wesley, the founder of the Methodist movement within the Church of England. For Wesley and his sympathizers, there was no sense of assurance such as one finds in the Calvinist predestination theory. Rather, the Methodist affirmation of free will allowed that the believer could fall from grace, though there was always the possibility of forgiveness.⁶¹ Although Calvin's teachings would be modified with the subsequent schisms and reunions within Protestantism, his figure continues to loom over the theological deliberations of those within the Reformed tradition.

61 Frederick Dreyer, 'Faith and Experience in the Thought of John Wesley', *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 88, No. 1 (Feb., 1983), p. 16.

82 Jacopo Sadoletto (1477-1547). *De laudibus philosophiae libri duo*.
Lyon: Sebastianus Gryphius, 1543.

Sadoletto was an Italian humanist who rose to be secretary to Pope Leo X (1475-1521) and eventually Cardinal of the Roman Church. A career diplomat and papal envoy, he attempted to win back Protestants through reasoned argument based on Scripture and tradition; in the process he rarely won friends in either Catholic or Reformed camps. In 1539 Sadoletto and Calvin engaged in a literary debate in which the key positions of the Roman and Genevan churches were succinctly expressed, especially on the contentious doctrines of ecclesiology and justification. In this book, first printed in 1538, Sadoletto defends a thesis which, though typical of Renaissance humanism, was antithetical to everything the reformed tradition was coming to stand for, namely, that wisdom attained through the study of philosophy is the highest virtue within the grasp of unaided human reason.

83 *Index librorum prohibitorum*. Lyon: Guillaume Rouillé, 1564.

Printed at Lyon, this edition of the 'Index of Forbidden Books' confirmed that everything condemned by Rome before 1515 remained under the ban. Added to these, however, were the works of the new 'heresiarchs', a title previously reserved for the likes of Arius and Pelagius, but now applied to Luther, Zwingli and, as on this page, Calvin. Displayed with him here are other *auctores primae classis* (i.e. authors condemned with all of their writings) including Johannes Piscator (1546-1625), Jan Hus (1369?-1415), and Johann Oecolampadius. Calvin first speaks disparagingly of ecclesiastical indexes in 1533 when he refers to the censors of the Sorbonne as 'certain factious theologians ... [who] listed a number of books that they wanted to prohibit from being read'. The Roman Index was not suspended until 1966, and although Calvin's name did not appear in the later editions, that was only because it was understood that his doctrines were forbidden to be taught according to the Church's Canon Law.

- 84 Archibald Hamilton (d. 1593). *De confusione Caluinianae sectae apud Scotos Ecclesiae nomen ridiculè usurpantis, dialogues*. Paris: Thomas Brumen, 1577.

Archibald Hamilton, a convert from Calvinism to Roman Catholicism, was known among the Scottish reformers simply as 'the Apostate'. This book on the confusion of the 'Calvinist sect' in Scotland was printed the year following his escape from St Andrews to Paris. He was ordained priest in Paris and was soon after made a doctor of the Sorbonne. A linguist as well as a theologian, he made his way to Rome in 1584 after civil war broke out in France. There he assumed the position of Vatican librarian, and became friends with Pope Gregory XIII (1502-1585).

- 85 Gabriel du Préau (1511-1588). *De vitis, sectis et dogmatibus omnium haereticorum*. Cologne: Gerwin Calenius, 1581.

In this book the ardent Catholic controversialist, Gabriel du Préau, provides a practical dictionary of both ancient and contemporary heretics, among whom the Calvinists, not surprisingly, feature quite prominently. While Luther is described elsewhere in the book as the 'architect' of modern heresy, du Préau reserves for Calvin the title of 'supreme heresiarch' and likens his theology to that of the ancient Manichaeans because of his apparent rejection of human free will. Du Préau was a doctor of theology and professor at the Collège de Navarre. His literary resumé includes translations of classic texts, works on grammar and philology, historical accounts, and contemporary reports of the wars of religion.

- 86 Martin Chemnitz (1522-1586). *Loci theologici*. Frankfurt: Johann Spiess, 1594.

Known as the 'alter Martinus', it became a truism in Lutheranism that, 'if Martin [Chemnitz] had not come along, Martin [Luther] would hardly have survived'. Chemnitz was a student of both Luther and Melancthon, and this book is the fruit of his study of the latter's *Loci theologici*. He was instrumental in achieving unity among the German Lutherans through his contribution to the Formula of Concord of 1577, and his work in

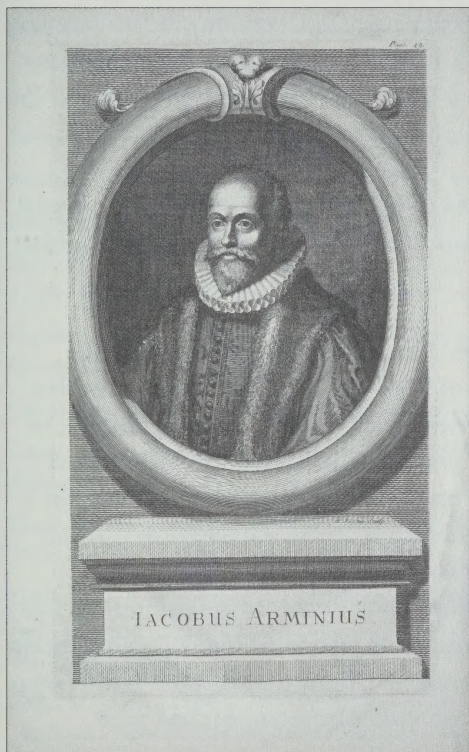
systematics, especially as summarized in this book, won for him the admiration of subsequent generations of Lutherans who considered him the father of their normative theology. He had little sympathy for Calvinist theology, or for the so-called 'crypto-Calvinists' who had found a home within the Lutheran community. Against them he wrote *De coena Domini* (1560) and *De duabus naturis in Christo* (1570).

87 **Jacobus Arminius (1560-1609).** *Jacobi Arminii ... Examen modestum libelli.* Leiden: Godfrey Basson, 1612.

Arminius was a Dutch reformed theologian who is best remembered today for opposing three of the five central points of Calvinism, namely the doctrines of unconditional election, limited atonement, and irresistible grace. In his youth he had studied under Théodore Beza at Geneva, but by the time he had assumed the pastoral charge of the church at Amsterdam in 1588, he had modified the teachings he had learned there. Most radically he came to embrace the notion that election was universal and dependent only on faith. This position was quickly opposed by orthodox Calvinists who associated it with Pelagianism. Arminianism, which emerged as an organized philosophy after his death, developed his positions and was eventually embraced by no less a figure than John Wesley.

88 **Moïse Amyraut (1596-1664).** *Specimen animadversionum in exercitationes de gratia vniversali.* Saumur: Jean Lesnier, 1648.

Amyraut was a highly-regarded French Protestant theologian and pastor of the church of Saumur in the Loire. His efforts to mitigate the harshness of predestinarianism saw him thrice charged with heresy by synods of the Reformed Church in 1637, 1644, and 1659, though he was exonerated each time. Theologically, Amyraut claimed a middle position between strict Calvinism and Arminianism arguing that Christ's act of redemption was indeed offered for all, even if election should be limited to the few. This is one of the central theses of this book which is considered his most radical. One of his students was William Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania, who was greatly influenced by his teacher's generous position on religious liberty.



Portrait of Arminius from Geerraert Brandt, *The History of the Reformation*. London, 1721.

89 Richard Baxter (1615-1691). *Aphorismes of Justification, with their Explication Annexed*. London: Francis Tyton, 1649.

Baxter described himself as an Episcopal-Presbyterian-Independent; in theology he trod a *via media* between strict Calvinism and Arminianism. He affirmed, for example, the Calvinist doctrine of election while rejecting predestined reprobation and any notion of a limited atonement. The *Aphorismes* was his first published work. In it he argues that humans can cooperate with grace to achieve salvation, for which idea he earned the criticism of other Independent clergymen, most of whom were strict Calvinists. Although a dissenter, his commitment to the primitive church earned him respect both with members of the Church of England as well as non-conformists. In his own words, 'My Religion is meerly Christian ... The Church which I am a member of is the universality of

Christians; in conjunction with all particular Churches of Christians in England or elsewhere in the world, whose communion according to my capacity I desire’.

- 90 Samuel Hoard (1599-1658). *Gods Love to Man-kinde, Manifested by Dis-proving His Absolute Decree for their Damnation*. London: John Clark, 1658.

Samuel Hoard was an Anglican divine who, in 1633, repudiated his Calvinist upbringing in favour of Arminianism. This book was the first in the English Protestant world to declare that the Calvinist doctrine of predestination was antithetical to true Christian thought and merited rejection. Hoard’s principal objection was that predestination was not based in Scripture and bore a greater affinity to Manichaeistic dualism than to orthodox Christianity. To advocate predestination, he maintained, necessarily led to an abdication of personal responsibility, as well as a rejection of the holiness, mercy, and justice of God. Though publicly opposed by John Davenant, Bishop of Salisbury, the book was still popular enough to see three editions published between 1633 and 1678.

- 91 John Wesley (1703-1791). *A Dialogue between a Predestinarian and his Friend*. London: Printed by W. Strahan, 1741.

Wesley was a priest of the Church of England before establishing the Methodist movement in the 1730s. Theologically, he was in the tradition of Arminius and, consequently, a firm opponent of the doctrine of predestination. In this short treatise Wesley places quotations from Calvin’s *Institutes*, Piscator, Peter Martyr, and the Assembly’s *Catechism* in the mouth of his interlocutor to justify the orthodox reformed teaching on the point. Wesley has the last word on predestination, however. ‘I think’ he writes, ‘it cannot be found in holy Writ, and that it is a Plant which bears dismal Fruit. An instance of which we have in Calvin himself; who confesses, that he procur’d the burning to Death of Michael Servetus, a wise and holy Man, purely for differing from him in Opinion, in Matters of Religion.’ On loan from Emmanuel College Library of Victoria University, Toronto.

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